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A

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION;

COMPREHENDING

ALL THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS

BOTH

IN THE FIELD AND IN THE CABINET.

BY PAUL ALLEN, ESQ.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

AND MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT

LETTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

BALTIMORE: PRINTED FOR FRANKLIN BETTS.

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PREFACE.

WHATEVER relates to the birth of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation, must, necessarily, form an important era in the history of the world that we inhabit. Abortive attempts by nations to relieve themselves from the chains of oppression, are always *denominated* treason against the rulers of the day, and the records of criminal jurisprudence constitute, perhaps, their only memorial: so true is the remark of Dr. Priestly, that every unsuccessful revolt is called a rebellion, and every successful struggle a Revolution. Wallace died upon the scaffold, while Washington was triumphant.

Those who performed a conspicuous part in the early stages of our Revolution, not being recognized by their enemies as the agents of an independent power, were stigmatized as rebels, denounced as traitors, and interdicted from the common rights of humanity exercised by all belligerent nations, and which may now be said, even in times of hostility, to constitute a part of national law. The word rebel was, during our

revolutionary struggle, a sanction to any enormity that our enemies were capable of inflicting. It is now said, and there is indeed a precedent that gives a colourable pretext for such an assertion, that all resistance to established authority becomes, *ipso facto*, criminal; and while the true friend of liberty deplores the enormities, the pander of arbitrary power rejoices in the history, of the French revolution. It furnishes the latter with a pretext to prove his favourite position, that no nation is to be entrusted with the government of itself: it serves to consecrate any tyranny on the part of the rulers, and any state of servile acquiescence on the part of the people. To this example, however, the former may proudly oppose the history of the American revolution; it was a revolution in favour of a free government; it was a revolution in favour of that law, that had been handed down to us as an invaluable legacy by our ancestors; it was a revolution that preserved to the Colonies, under another name, the rights secured by Magna Charta. Astonishing as the fact may appear, it is nevertheless true, that so little did the Americans contend for, beyond what was secured to them in the grant of their royal charter, that some of them have preserved those very charters to the present day, notwithstanding they have renounced the authority of the Monarch by whom they were granted. Others have, in the constitutions that have been subsequently framed under the name of the people, recognized and adopted all those rights guaranteed by the royal charters; and even at the present day, the constitution of the

United States, and the constitutions of the several States, have only given to those chartered rights a new name. The People now speak in their collective majesty, where a Monarch, in his individual majesty, formerly spoke; and the lips of both utter precisely the same sentiments—so false was the opinion prevalent in the day of our revolution, that our ancestors were rebels.

In the prosecution of the present work, it is deemed proper to state, that the facts have been drawn from what is honestly believed to be the most unquestionable sources: from a painful and accurate examination and comparison of the various histories of that important event; from the correspondence of those who were the immediate parties in a struggle so glorious to our country; from official documents, from the archives of our Continental Congress, and those of the different Legislatures; and from the orderly books, that may properly be denominated the journals of the army. Much, perhaps, remains to be known, that may yet be preserved to posterity, if the private correspondence of those who were the immediate actors in this important drama, has yet survived the dilapidations of time and of accident; but much is irrevocably covered by the ashes of the grave.

It may be proper here to mention, that the author, in recording the events of our Revolution, is largely indebted to the voluntary services of two of his literary friends, without whose kind assistance it is probable that he should have never been able to have complied with his obligations to the publick: an assistance, so

[redacted]

× See Drake's Biog. Dict.

important that he is confident the reader will have abundant cause for congratulation. This will account for the difference of style that will be observed in the course of the present work. He regrets that he is not allowed to mention the names of his associates.× If this history should answer the expectations of its patrons, he hopes that it will be remembered to whom honour is due.

Our Country has now acquired a rank, and a name, and a character, amongst the powers of the earth: she has extended her dominion from the Maine to the Gulph of Mexico; from the Atlantick to the Pacifick Ocean. She has, in the language of Milton, risen like a strong man from sleep; and has shaken her invincible locks. Every American must fervently offer up a prayer to the throne of Divine Grace, that she may grow in dignity, in honour, and in virtue, as she has grown in power—Or, to pursue the prophecy of the Bard, that "she may kindle her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, and unscale her long abused sight at the fountain itself of Heavenly influence."

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HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE discovery of the *new world*, as the American Continent has been emphatically called, may very properly be said to have produced an instant revolution, in the condition of all Europe, and an important change in the affairs of the rest of the world. To Spain, France, and Great Britain, more particularly, the extension of commercial connexion, to which this event gave rise, led to consequences, which, but for the subsequent independence of the Colonies, would, in a little time, have utterly subverted the liberties and happiness of those three kingdoms. Nor will this opinion appear extraordinary to those, who are accustomed to look beyond the occurrences of the day, into the slow but certain operation of remote causes. An intercourse with new governments, and new people, must necessarily introduce new ideas, new habits of thinking and of acting; and a correspondent change will be produced in manners, customs and

laws. New desires will be excited, and new passions called into existence. Avarice will seize upon new sources of accumulation: envy will seek to destroy the happiness beyond its own reach; and fraud and oppression, must follow in their train. It is not our design, however, to write a history of the discovery of America; and we shall, therefore, confine our views to *one* of the many important events, to which that discovery led—leaving it to the philosopher, and general historian, to settle the question, whether the sum of human happiness has been augmented or diminished, by the adventurous spirit of Columbus.

It has been well said, by one of the fathers of our independence, that the *revolution* was finished, before the *war* commenced; and the reader will find more than one occasion, in the following pages, to observe the truth of this remark. But before we enter upon the immediate execution of our task—a record of the *events* of our Revolution, in its broad and common acceptation—we must beg permission to detain the reader with a few general observations, such as the occasion seems to demand. It is a delicate, and perhaps a presumptuous task, to attempt to fix the causes, which have produced the revolutions of kingdoms and empires. The various and conflicting motives, which may be supposed to influence the historian, should be carefully examined and ascertained, before confidence is given to the truth of his narration, or reliance placed on the soundness of his judgment. If, like Bishop Burnett, he is the recorder of events, in which he was, himself, a conspicuous actor, he may naturally be supposed to sit down to the task, with a mind under the influence of the selfish and stormy passions of a party. He may be

honest and upright in his own character, and his general conduct may have evinced a sound and sober judgment; but it is not in the nature of man to be cool and dispassionate in speaking of the merits of his own cause, or altogether honest and impartial in judging the motives of his opponents, and contemporary actors in the same scenes. Under every form of government, the people are more or less divided into friends and foes of the supreme power; and during the existence of that power, it would be vain to look for a correct and faithful history of passing events. The writer, under such circumstances, must, more or less, be wrought upon by the turbulence of party feelings—he must be more or less sprinkled by the foam of the political effervescence.

The difficulty attending all attempts to give a correct narration of the events of one's own time, has been so forcibly felt, and so universally acknowledged, that the saying is now become proverbial, that a generation must have passed away before its history can be written with fidelity. But it may be questioned, whether even the succeeding generation can be altogether free from the objections which have been pointed out. Those who have looked deeply into human nature—who have seen how often the prejudices of the parent are transmitted to the child, how prone we are to tread in the footsteps of our fathers, to inherit opinions as we do property—must acknowledge, that the violent and agitating passions of the human heart do not always sleep in the grave, and that the same objections which rendered the father unfit to become the impartial historian of his own actions, may be urged, with equal justice, against the son.

In republicks, notwithstanding the unbounded freedom allowed to research, investigation and inquiry, the difficulty of arriving at the truth, in regard to great political commotions, exists perhaps in the same degree as in more arbitrary governments. We are ever prone to abuse the freedom which we enjoy. We are too ready to ascribe motives for actions, which perhaps never existed—we, unconsciously, act under the warp of Party, and give currency to falsehood, while we fondly flatter ourselves, that truth is the only object of our devotion. In popular governments every man is an actor; every man has a personal interest in political measures—and the views and opinions of every man, therefore, must be more or less governed by the degree of that interest.—He has full opportunities of seeing and of learning the truth; but our confidence in his veracity must depend upon our knowledge of the share he bore in the scenes which he undertakes to describe. Before we can regard the opinions of any man, we must be certain that his mind was in a proper state for accurate perception and cool deliberation; for as Lord Kames has judiciously observed, passion hath such influence over us as to give a false light to all its objects. And in republicks there is a wider scope for the operation of passion in all its varieties, than in more arbitrary governments. In the latter, the popular machinery, if the expression can be allowed, is moved by one man. The mass of people, having no agency in publick affairs, have no inducements to make themselves acquainted with, nor can they be presumed to know any thing of, the motives or secret springs which actuate their rulers, in publick measures.—The historian, therefore, who belongs to such governments, must be supposed to be taken into the confi-

dence of the Court, before we can accredit his intelligence; and being taken into their confidence, he must be bold in honesty, indeed, if he dare say any thing that may deprive him of its attendant advantages.

But these are not the only difficulties which attend the task of the historian, nor the only objections which may be urged against the manner in which that task is generally executed. We believe it may be safely asserted, that those who undertake to account for the revolutions of States and Empires, generally regard the subject in too contracted a point of view. Satisfied with the *ostensible* causes, or those which are usually put forward by the more immediate actors in this important business, they are too liable to overlook those *predisposing* causes, which so variously and so powerfully contribute to bring about an event so important as a political revolution. So powerful, indeed, is the operation of these remote and hidden causes, that it may be doubted whether any political occurrence, of whatever magnitude, could singly lead to the subversion of existing authorities. The popular mind can only be irritated and inflamed by repeated acts of violence against their rights and privileges. A long catalogue of injuries unattoned, or of complaints unredressed, is handed down from generation to generation—the memory of every outrage is preserved and recorded, from father to son, until at last some spark lights by chance upon the collected mass of combustibles, and the revolutionary explosion follows. If we look attentively through the various acts of the British Ministry with regard to this country, from its first settlement, down to the period, when entreaty and remonstrance gave place to debate and altercation, and these last to an appeal to arms, we should discover that our

Declaration of Independence, contains but a small catalogue of their atrocious tyrannies. The various, oppressive and vexatious acts of the Governours, appointed by the crown of great Britain, to rule over the Colonies—their arbitrary exactions—their contempt of popular remonstrance—all conspired to produce something like an abhorrence of the *mother country*, in the minds of our sturdy fathers. This was succeeded by a regular and systematick opposition to the offensive measures of the Ministry, and complaint followed complaint from the Governours. These officers, appointed by the King, sensible of the precarious tenure by which their authority was held, were more anxious to conciliate the royal favour, than the confidence of the people. They laboured hard, therefore, to prove themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them by the King, and sought to carry, with a high hand, all measures in which the royal prerogative was concerned. Satisfied with the single approbation of their royal master, and eager at all times and at all hazards, to obtain it, they raised the cry of *disloyalty* and *disaffection*, against the well grounded remonstrances of the people.

The Ministry, on the other hand, engaged in the same labour of propping up the royal prerogative, against the turbulence of contending factions at home, were always ready to lend a willing ear to the representations of their favourites and coadjutors abroad. Familiarized to the din of popular tumults and remonstrances, and jealous of all encroachments upon that power, by virtue of which they held their own authority; instead of listening to these remonstrances, they considered them as so many proofs of the fidelity of their Governours. If the Ministry was changed, their

Governours were likewise discarded, and their place supplied by new creatures of the new Ministers; but these changes of the instruments of power, produced no change in the grievances under which the people suffered—the new Governours soon rendered themselves quite as obnoxious as their predecessors. If an *American*, whose character and conduct were held in contempt and abhorrence by his countrymen, repaired to England, he seldom failed to return, loaded with marks of the royal favour, and bearing some high commission to lord it over his native land.

These and a thousand other acts of a wicked and corrupt Ministry, which it would be impossible to enumerate, are some of the predisposing causes, to which we have already alluded. The English Ministry, at all times more anxious to retain their places, than to do justice, were insensible to the reiterated and respectful complaints of the Colonies. Every petition was regarded as a new symptom of disloyalty. The Colonies, it was said, enjoyed too much liberty; for they had the *liberty of complaining*; and it was much easier for the Ministers to declare their complaints unfounded, seditious and disloyal, than to remove their causes. To do the latter would have required some sacrifice of themselves. Indeed, it may be affirmed with confidence, that the broad and expansive principles of legislation, as applied to this controversy between the mother country and the Colonies, hardly entered into the consideration of his Britannick Majesty's Ministers. They thought of England, and of England only. If a remonstrance was made—if a law was proposed to be enacted—if any temporary measure of alleviation was deemed necessary for the Colonies—the question with the Ministry was, of what ad-

vantage will such a concession be to *England?* Instead of viewing the prosperity of the Colonies upon a large and liberal scale; instead of conceiving that the English character, English manners, laws, liberty and religion, acquired additional renown and strength by being expanded over a whole continent—the English Ministry were governed by a narrow, selfish, local, and jealous policy. It did not enter into the question with them, to what a glorious extent, these principles purely and exclusively English might be promulgated—how many human beings might be rendered happy by living under the protection of English law, and in the enjoyment of all the privileges of an English freeman—these were considerations too liberal for their contracted policy—they only inquired whether all this would add to their own power, or keep them a moment longer in place. It may be easy to see the result of such a policy, without entering into a minute and tedious detail. The interests of a little Island, or rather of a few ambitious inhabitants of that Island, were put in opposition to the interests of a Continent; and every concession was made subordinate to that one point.

The natural enterprise of our countrymen, their adventurous spirit in commercial pursuits—were made to bend to these views of the English Ministry; and the prosperity of *England,* was taken as the standard of their action. The Governours who adhered to the authors of this policy, were of course continued in office, in despite of the remonstrances of the people.—They were encouraged to persevere, and not to forfeit the favour of his majesty, by yielding to symptoms of *disaffection.*

When we take into consideration, the action and counteraction of these two principles—the disposition of the colonies to embrace every practicable advantage which was presented to promote their prosperity; and the disposition of the Ministry on the other hand to counteract every effort of this sort, so far as it was supposed to interfere with their narrow ideas of Insular policy—we may, without much effort, discover, even at an early period, indications of that open rupture which at last burst forth. These are some of the many *trifles*, which are usually passed over in silence by historians, but which lead to great and important national events. So early as the days of Elizabeth, an English author, who was a sound politician, because he was no Minister, saw the effects of this contracted policy, and ventured to predict the future independence of the English colonies. Indeed when we consider the natural course of population, and the disposition, which was early manifested in the people of England, for emigration, whether from religious, political, or mere personal motives, we shall be no longer surprised at the prediction. It is natural to presume, that men who voluntarily relinquish the country of their ancestors, to seek an asylum and resting place in a land of strangers, are not actuated by motives of *affection* for the country which they leave—men do not willingly abandon a country in which they have lived contentedly and happily. Those who emigrated, then, may be fairly suspected of unfavorable feelings towards their native country, and whether justly or unjustly excited, the effect would be the same—they would seek to instil their prejudices into the minds of those among whom they intended to dwell—and these, already irritated and vexed by the petty acts of tyran-

ny to which they were continually exposed from the agents of the English government, were readily persuaded to credit their narrations, and thus give additional strength to their own causes of enmity.

It is likewise worthy of remark, that a voyage to England, from the American Colonies, was not then regarded, as it now is, a mere tour of pleasure, to be made with every change of season—but as something of which the traveller might boast to his descendants. To have seen his most *gracious* Majesty; to have heard the noble lords in Parliament; or to have visited the Tower, was then a matter of so much importance, that it was deemed worthy to be commemorated in our family journals, as a grand epoch in the life of the Colonist. The first settlers of the country, engaged as they were in reducing a wilderness to cultivation and civilization, and in resisting the hostile incursions of their savage neighbours, knew but little of England, except what they were made to learn in the severe discipline of gubernatorial tyranny. They saw her only in the exaggerated tales of discontented emigrants, and felt her influence only in the oppressions of his Majesty's arrogant representatives. The popular and royal branches of the Colonial governments, were at eternal variance; and each had their separate agents, spies, and informers, near the court of St. James. Thus, England was as ignorant of the true state of her American Colonies, as the Colonies themselves were of the machinery of her government. The English Parliament was, as it were, disciplined to the belief, that the American Colonies comprehended the most factious and discontented spirits, under the dominion of their royal master; and the Colonies, on the other hand, seemed to think that Parliament had little

else to do, than to listen to the representations of their Governours, careless and indifferent to every remonstrance of the people. The ignorance of the English Ministry with regard to the political interests and geographical situation of this country, may be abundantly seen in many of the royal charters—the alteration or abrogation of which, at their own pleasure, produced disquietudes, traces of which may be found even at the present day. The same tracts of land were often granted to several individuals—rivers, mountains, and other prominent land-marks, were sometimes named in the charter, which were no where to be found except in the charter itself; and contending parties, deriving their titles from equal authority, the same royal grant, either spent their lives in litigation, or succeeded against each other only by superiority of artifice and cunning. It is not our business to inquire into the *validity* of any of these royal grants, or we might here take occasion to smile at the ridiculous arrogance, and ostentatious liberality, with which a crowned head could give away, what belonged to him by no right, divine or human—this is the province of the general historian; and to him we leave the task of defending the right, by which the peaceable and unoffending natives of this western Continent, were driven from the soil which God had given them, by the *fiat* of an earthly sovereign.

Bred up, as our ancestors were, to a free interchange of opinion on these apparently trifling subjects of discontent, they acquired a habit of minute investigation, which ultimately led them to an equality with the greatest statesmen of Europe. Every subject of real or imaginary grievance, was examined to the bottom—the constitutional right of Parliament to im-

pose certain obnoxious and oppressive measures, was brought into question, and the negative stoutly maintained—and having once ventured to dispute the omnipotence of Parliament, they were not long in denying altogether their right to interfere in the *local* concerns of this Country. It was allowed to possess a general, supervisory jurisdiction, by some writers; but it was held, that for all local, interior, subordinate purposes, our own Legislatures were alone competent to legislate. It was maintained, that Representatives, chosen from the body of the people, acting under the eye of their constituents, responsible to them for their conduct, and participating in all their interests, were incomparably better judges, both of the evil and of the remedy, than a Legislature at the distance of three thousand miles, who had no common feeling or sympathy with the people, over whom they claimed a right to legislate. Inquiries were made as to the extent of this Parliamentary claim—Writers who touched on these delicate and dangerous subjects, acquired a sort of popularity, which was probably the motive that induced them to employ their pens upon such topics. They were in the outset, perhaps, hardly serious themselves, when they pressed home upon their readers, points of such momentous concerns. As they, however, became, from the boldness of their speculations, popular favourites, they dared to enlarge the questions and to take stronger positions. In the mean time it must not be supposed, that the creatures of the English Ministry were idle. They looked with jealousy and alarm at the introduction of such new doctrines—they introduced persecutions and indictments; but this only augmented the evil for which they attempted to furnish a remedy. The case was

to be submitted to the decision of a Jury of our own countrymen, who inherited all the political prejudices of the writer, and who would rejoice in an opportunity to sanction by their verdict the legality of such speculations. From this moment, the writer became a man of political importance—he was then represented as the champion of our Colonial rights, a man whose abilities and integrity had alarmed the sycophants of the Court, and whom they endeavoured to offer up as a victim to Ministerial injustice. These ideas and opinions were every day gaining ground, and they harmonized so well with all the prejudices of our countrymen against Parliament, that it is not a matter of astonishment that they should find supporters and defenders.

While matters were taking a course so dangerous at home, Parliament were urging unusual and unprecedented claims—They asserted rights of sovereignty still more large and undefined, more alarming and revolting to the jealous mind of the Colonies. These pretensions were again canvassed and discussed; they were compared with those rights which were reserved to the Colonies and sanctioned by the royal charter, and were often found utterly at variance. Here was new cause for disquietude and alarm, and for the writers on this side of the Atlantick to push their speculations further than they had originally gone. Fortified and encouraged by popular confidence, and braving all the consequences, they did not hesitate, in some instances, to call in question the right of Parliament to legislate for them in any case whatever. In England, the Party in opposition to the Government, were not backward in ascribing all these trans-Atlantick commotions to the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers.

This Party were, perhaps, themselves not conscious of the extent of the mischief that they were doing. They probably thought, that it would be in the power of Parliament, at any time, to impose a check upon such licentious doctrines, before they extended themselves beyond mere speculation, and that, in the mean time, they might appropriate to themselves all the benefits resulting from such ministerial embarrassments. They would therefore appear on the floor of Parliament, as the defenders and apologists of the Colonies. The Colonies on their part, when they found that they were sanctioned by such high authority, were little disposed passively to surrender any of their controverted claims; but on the contrary urged them with still more boldness and perseverance. These Parliamentary champions shortly became the idols of the Colonies—they were selected to present remonstrances and addresses, and were toasted on this side of the Atlantick, as the defenders of American liberty.

Thus from the operation of causes partly natural and partly artificial, permanent impressions of hostility to England, were made upon the minds of the Colonists. In our plain, simple, republican habits, every thing appertaining to royalty and aristocracy, to the pomp and splendour of a Court, was regarded with a jealous and a suspicious eye; fortunes were here made by self-denial, and the slow and tedious process of laborious industry. Children were brought up heirs to little more than the industry of their parents—they were always accustomed to habits of parsimony and self-denial, while their rulers across the Atlantick were born to power and eminence. All the splendour by which these rulers were invested, all the rank, titles,

arms, escutcheons, and paraphernalia of nobility, were held by the Colonists as so many demands upon their pockets, as something for which the nation was compelled to pay, without receiving any other equivalent than the pleasure of gazing at such gaudy spectacles. Our ancestors had nothing within their view, with which they could compare such splendour and magnificence. Every well cultivated field, or sumptuous edifice that arrested their attention—all the preeminence afforded by opulence, reminded them only of individual industry. Many could remember the time, when the ancestor of the man, who now enjoyed such proud domains, was compelled, like themselves, to comply with the injunction to the father of the human race, to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. This did not excite that feverish jealousy to long hereditary opulence : it was only a stimulus to industry—an incitement to persevere in painful, but honest labour. The steps by which opulence enjoyed its present comfort and ease, were still visible, and the road to such envied preeminence was as plainly marked out to the eyes of the spectator. If this spectacle is compared with a different state and organization of society across the Atlantick; if we will only for a moment enter into the feelings of men, honest but simple, in all their habits and manners, such hostility may be accounted for, without resorting to the common depravity of human nature. It is not, strictly speaking, the hostility of the poor against the rich—that is to say, it is not that hostility that would demolish and appropriate to one's self the property of others, if the laws of the land did not interpose their influence. It is that hostility, which results from beholding a man in possession of a magnificent mansion,

when it does not appear that he has any legal right or title to such magnificence. He seems, at one and at the same instant of time, to have started into existence and into opulence. Comparing these ideas with those entertained by our ancestors, with the slow and penurious process by which their little property was acquired, and delivered down to their descendants, with their habits of abstinence, of retrenchment, and of self-denial, we shall cease to wonder at the repugnance which they felt to all the stars, garters, and titles of nobility. This birth to honour, to fortune, to celebrity, and to emolument, was, in their simple and unsophisticated view, an anomalous thing—something that was not the natural and legitimate product of civil life—but a sort of political fungus, an excrescence that marred all its beauty. It was at variance with all their preconceived opinions on the subject of acquiring property—it was associated with the idea of taxes, and of all the arbitrary exactions of the Ministry—it served to show, in a mortifying point of view, their own state of indigence and dependency. They had heard, that prodigality and idleness would bring a man to poverty and want; this was a fact as religiously believed, taught and inculcated into the minds of children as fully, as if it had been one of the articles of the decalogue. England, on the other hand, presented a spectacle the reverse of all these ideas. Her Legislators were born to opulence, and to command—they had arrived at a stage of preeminence, by being merely ushered into the world, to which the honest ploughman of this country never could, even in the dreams of his fancy, dare to aspire. The European philanthropist, accustomed as he is, from his cradle to his coffin, to the sight of such gaudy objects—who thinks that these gradations in so-

ciety are natural and inevitable, that they tend to the conservation of the state, though he may be disposed to censure such opinions as illiberal, will be alike disposed to pardon such honest prejudices. Nor do we think, that we can be justly accused of refining too much, if in conjunction with all these ideas, we mention the local situation of the two countries, as one great cause of their political separation. Our complaints and remonstrances, whether well or ill founded, could not from the situation of the two countries be favoured with a prompt hearing and decision. They were to be transmitted to the distance of three thousand miles, in the first instance, and then to endure the tedious process of delay and procrastination. This delay, of itself, amongst such a diversity of conflicting interests, was prone to engender disquietude and jealousy. The evil was felt, or imagined to be felt, in all its violence, while the remedy was tardy, uncertain and precarious. When the *long anticipated* moment of redress eventually arrived, *it* was out of season—the evil had been endured so long, that the Colonies were in a measure reconciled to its existence—it had been felt and endured so long, that it seemed almost to have lost at last its character of a grievance. To these may be added many other subordinate causes of vexation; the difficulty in the transmission of proper papers and documents—of the production of suitable proofs before a tribunal disposed to be captious in a rigid adherence to legal forms—the inevitable expense attendant on such investigations—the thousand opportunities afforded for a delay, if not for a complete denial of justice—the security from detection which a real criminal would enjoy when furnished with all these weapons of defence—the hopelessness of such a contest to the par-

ty who had been aggrieved or oppressed—the palpable motives which would actuate the Ministry of the day to lend their aid and countenance to all such impediments; all these (and many more might be enumerated,) are abundantly sufficient to show, how slow, how precarious, how irritating, must have been a remonstrance to Parliament for redress—that the remedy when granted finally came too late—perhaps at a season when the evil was no longer felt or acknowledged as such; that it afforded to guilt nearly all the protection and purity of innocence—that the culprit on this side of the Atlantick, by having friends at Court on the other, was able either to elude all inquiry or to paralyze the arm of justice—So cold, so comfortless, so ungracious, was the prospect afforded of a Parliamentary redress of our grievances either national, or individual. The English Ministry were sensible of all the advantages which they enjoyed from this delay or procrastination of justice—it discouraged the appeal to a tribunal whose movements were so dubious and so precarious—it taught the Colonies a lesson of obedience; that it was better to submit, than to complain of a grievance, and they were ever anxious to make an appeal to his Majesty in Council, to Parliament, or to the courts of law, the dernier resort. But, besides these incidental causes of complaint, we are disposed to consider even the peculiar situation of these contending parties, as decisive evidence that they could not cordially concur in any given point. What was fit, and expedient, and proper for the welfare of England, did in a great measure change its character when applied to the Colonies. When our countrymen began to turn their eyes towards the ocean, or in other words, when they prepared to forsake the plough and to lean

upon the anchor, they felt more severely than they had before done, the narrow and confined views of the English Parliament. It was the object of the Ministry to monopolize the commerce of the Colonies. Our trade was subjected to oppressive and to various restrictions—our natural enterprise was restrained to narrow and to vexatious limits, which we felt as a grievance, while we despaired of obtaining a remedy—we saw unexplored avenues to wealth and aggrandizement open before us, which we were prevented from entering by the magick of a Parliamentary Act. These statutes seemed to have marked out lines upon the ocean for our guidance, which if deviated from, amounted to a forfeiture of the vessel and of the cargo. It was plain to be discovered, that while our ships were sailing by these enchanted limits, England was enjoying the advantages of the enterprise. We were told, that whatever benefit might be the reward, it was *criminal to trespass* on these imaginary lines; that if we should become opulent by a safer, a shorter, and a surer route, than that which the statutes of Parliament prescribed, we should incur the vengeance of English law. Legislative provisions, when so pointedly set in opposition to personal interest, may indeed be obeyed; but they will be obeyed from motives of fear only, and not from reverence and affection. They irresistibly impel the mind to the consideration of other questions—such, for instance, as these: how long is this state of vassalage to be borne?—when will the statutes of Parliament allow us the free exercise of our own faculties?—how long will it be regarded as criminal for us to use the common bounties of nature?—must we always act in this secondary and subordinate sphere—always exert all our native energies for

the aggrandizement of others?—or will the time arrive, when we shall be masters of our own?—Nor do we think it too much to say that such political separations are, considering the natural course of human events, inevitable. Peculiar events may prolong the period of separation—a large, liberal, and enlightened policy may avert it for a season; but it would contradict not only all the analogies afforded by history, but the experience of our own times, to assert that such separation will never be brought about. With such lights of past and of present times before our eyes, does it seem an incredible event that the English Colonies in India will one day become independent States? Had it been told to an Englishman residing in India, forty years ago, that the English Colonies in North America would have renounced their allegiance to the mother country—that they would have asserted their independence by force of arms—that after a long and difficult struggle, the Monarch of England would recognize them as free, sovereign, and independent States, with what stubborn incredulity would he have listened to such a prophecy! He would have immediately entered into many plausible calculations of the relative power of the two countries, of their means of annoyance, and of their means of defence—of the helpless and imbecile state of the thirteen Colonies, each acting independently, and with all their sectional jealousies to overcome—he would have reminded us of the maritime ascendancy of England, of her invincible fleets and armies, of her immense resources, and of the comparative poverty of the Colonies. With such fearful odds, he would have triumphantly demanded, whether the project was even possible? All these speculations would undoubtedly not be destitute of weight;

they would show the perilous and precarious character of such a contest, and what great sacrifices must unavoidably be made by the Colonies, in the struggle. To all this, however, one fact must be offered, incredible as such an event would then have appeared, it has now happened. This prophecy has become now matter of history. And will it be said, that the English Colonies in India are not as capable now of renouncing their allegiance, as the American Colonies were when they successfully established such a precedent? Admitting for the sake of argument, (we are not at all disposed to controvert the fact,) that the English settlements in India entertain no intention, at present, to follow our example, what is the inference? Is the inference to be that the world is, to its consummation, to remain the same that it now is—that the term Revolution is a word to grow out of use, and only to be found in the pages of a dictionary—that the same disposition *that* now pervades the English Colonies in India, is always to remain?—Is it too much to say, that individual ambition, glory, personal aggrandizement, fame, will find at some future day a residence in India? that Englishmen, who at home court the favour of the people, set themselves in battle array against the crown, and put at defiance all the penalties of justice, will when they land in India, and possess a larger range for the exercise of all these qualities, become mild and peaceable citizens, who look with abhorrence on Revolutions, and undergo a sudden transformation of character by a change of climate? Is it not obvious, that the longer this event is delayed, the more do these India Colonies increase in opulence, in population, in power, and the more competent will they be to resist with success when the day of trial comes. The very

procrastination of the event, ensures its ultimate success. We are by no means insensible of what is risked by such declarations; they may be supposed to result from a wish to behold the world once more in a state of combustion; but to those who will think so meanly, we have nothing to say in reply, and certainly no apologies to make. We profess to feel no hostility towards England—on the contrary, we can rejoice, with sincerity, in every thing that tends to the happiness and glory of the land of our fathers. And it is to her glory, that we acknowledge ourselves to be governed even at the present hour, by English laws. Our language, our manners, our principles and our literature, are almost exclusively English. The institutions of *Alfred*, which their illustrious founder designed only for the happiness of his little native Island, are now rapidly spreading their benign influence over two Continents. India and America have alike their trials by jury, their *habeas corpus*, their Bill of Rights, and all the free principles of the English constitution, without its corruptions. The Bramins already begin to view the objects of their idolatry—their miserable gods—their sanctified groves—their immolation of human victims—their personal austerities—with an eye of *doubt*. Their old, hereditary prejudices and superstitions, are already yielding to the new and benignant doctrine, that there is an invisible Deity who delights in the happiness of man. And to whom are they indebted for this ray of the light of truth? To England—to the inhabitants of that island where, only a few centuries ago, Julius Cæsar found none but savages—where parents, kindred and friends were daily sacrificed to appease the wrath of imaginary gods.—These are facts that redound to the

CHAPTER II.

FURTHER PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE natural seat of freedom, says an elegant historian, is among high mountains and pathless deserts, such as abound in the wilds of America. It is certainly true, however, that the first emigrants to this country, brought with them that spirit of liberty, which has since been so highly cherished by their descendants. They left England at a period when those principles, which finally ended in the overthrow and execution of Charles the First, were every where prevalent. They brought with them an unconquerable aversion to the arbitrary assumptions of royal prerogative, under the increasing weight of which they had groaned, during the reign of the first James, and to avoid which, was the primary cause of their emigration, —and they continued to meet, with determined resistance, every effort which his successours made to extend the chain. Thus it may be said, that the English Colonies in America, were originally settled upon the principles of independence, and that we owe more to the peculiar circumstances, under which that took place, than to the peculiar situation of our country.— The Revolution in England which placed Oliver Cromwell at the head of the government, while it in some measure drew closer the bonds which connected the Colonies with the Mother Country, served at the same time to confirm the former in their high notions of privilege, and to render them still more jealous of every encroachment. The sons of the first settlers, inheriting the spirit of their fathers, and still more independent

in their feelings, from their personal ignorance of the splendours or oppressions of royalty,—and knowing the Mother-Country only as a place from which their fathers had fled—successively and gradually lost the little allegiance which springs from natural affection, until at length they began to regard every legislative act of their distant rulers, with respect to themselves, as an usurpation of authority, which of right belonged only to their own representatives.

Every thing, indeed, tended to engender and to nurture a spirit of liberty and independence, in the Colonies of the new world. In the first place, that most powerful of all the engines of despotism—the union of religious with civil government—was unknown to them. Each man worshipped God, according to the dictates of his own reason and conscience; and by far the greater part of them belonged to that sect of Christians, whose very tenets taught them to acknowledge no *authority, but* that which had been established by their own consent and sanction. They were literally Dissenters, from all set forms and modes of worship; and, acting with independence in this most important of all human concerns, it is not wonderful that they felt independent, in every other affair of life.—In the second place, the first emigrants had, for a long period, little or no commercial intercourse with the Mother Country. They found, that by industry they were enabled to provide every thing essential to life, among themselves; and that tie of friendship, which exists between countries mutually dependent upon each other for the commodities of trade, was here wanting. Again, as it was only from the middle class of society,—or rather from that class, in which rank and honours were not hereditary,—that the first

emigration took place, superiority of industry, talents or virtue, constituted the only distinction among them. There were no titled orders of men to claim priority of place, from hereditary right. Each man was at once the proprietor and the cultivator of his own little domain—he felt at once the pride of the freeholder, and the humility of the tenant—the one taught him to look upon himself as *equal* to the highest; and the other, to regard himself as *not superiour* to the lowest of his fellow-citizens. Thus was a feeling of equality engendered among themselves; and knowing none superiour to themselves, they were easily brought to feel the same equality, with regard to those who pretended to be their natural rulers and superiours. Each succeeding generation felt all these sentiments with accumulated force, so that it may be very truly said, that the *independence* of the Colonies was formally established, before a blow was struck; and that nothing was gained by the War of the Revolution, but the recognition of that independence by the other nations of the earth.

We have said that England used every means in her power, by the appointment of arbitrary and despotick Governours and agents, to break down this spirit of independence in the Colonists, and reduce them to a state of uncomplaining submission and suffering.—But the English Ministry were wise enough to foresee the danger of these attempts, so long as France commanded so powerful a Colonial force on the same Continent. They were afraid of pushing their provocations too far, until it should be no longer in the power of the Americans to seek the protection or to call in the aid of their Canadian neighbours. Under this view, they were not long in making a pretext for quarrelling with their ancient enemy, the French, and en-

gaging the respective Colonies themselves in the contest. The enterprising and military spirit of the English Colonies, which had been evinced so early as 1745 by the capture of Louisburgh—an enterprise which had been projected and completed by the Governour and legislature of Massachusetts, without the sanction of the Mother Country, or the cooperation of her sister colonies—while it gave to the Ministers high ideas of the value of their Colonies, served, at the same time, to inflame their desire of reducing them to resistless obedience, and of extending the limits of their American possessions. That the Americans might be more heartily engaged in this war of conquest, an association was formed in London, embracing a number of the Colonists, particularly of the planters of Virginia, under the title of the Ohio Company. To this Company a grant was made, in the year 1750, of six hundred thousand acres of land, on the rivers Ohio and Mississippi. Whether the British or the French King had the *best* right to this land, or whether either had a right at all, were questions of no importance in the view of Ministers. All agreed, that the poor natives—those who were born upon the soil, whose inheritance was derived from the common Creator of it and them—had enjoyed the unmolested possession long enough. To say nothing then of the *rights* of either of the contending powers, it is certain that, at this time, France was in the actual *possession* of all the country north and south of this grant; and this interposition of an enemy in her road of communication from one extremity of her American territory to the other, was naturally looked upon as a hostile encroachment. The French Governour at first contented himself with remonstrating against this intrusion, as it was

called; but finding the British persist in their design of forming a trading settlement, he at length gave orders for the erection of fortifications on the Ohio, and authorized the seizure of every British subject who should be found trading on that river. As the greater part of these traders belonged to the Colony of Virginia, it was to her they looked for protection against these outrages, and looked not in vain. At this early period, 1753, Washington, though then but a mere stripling, was found ready to offer his services in behalf of his countrymen. They were accepted by Dinwiddie, then Governour of Virginia, and Washington was despatched to the French commandant,—with instructions to remonstrate against the violence of his proceedings, and to make such observations of the state of the country and disposition of its natives, as might in any manner tend to promote the British interests. And let it not be said, that this was an easy task which the young patriot had undertaken to perform. The distance was more than four hundred miles, and a greater part of the route lay through a wilderness uninhabited, or inhabited only by hostile savages. Much of the road, even at the present day, is impassable for horses; and it may be easily conceived that at that time, it required more than common zeal and courage to encounter the difficulties and dangers of travelling so far on foot. Washington, however, was ready not only to brave the dangers of the road, but the severities of the season; for it was on the 15th of November, that he commenced his journey, accompanied only by a single companion. The French commander then held his head quarters at a fort on the river Le Bœuf, a branch of the Alleghany, some distance above its confluence with the Mononga-

hela. This spot attracted the military eye of our young ambassadour; and its being afterwards selected as the site of Fort Duquesne, proved the correctness of his views. He found Monsieur de St. Pierre not at all inclined to listen to the remonstrances of Governour Dinwiddie—he persisted in denying the right of the British King to any part of the territory on the Ohio, and declared he should continue to seize every trader who claimed his privilege under the grant of that monarch.

Though Washington had not gained the object of his embassy, the information which he had acquired of the country, the address with which he conciliated the Indians, and the steady perseverance which had been manifested in the whole execution of his task, gained him the approbation and thanks of his countrymen. His advice with regard to the erection of a fortification at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, was adopted, and measures were forthwith taken to carry it into effect. But while the Virginians were engaged in this work, a small party of the French surprised and drove them off; and the French commander, seeing at once the advantages to be gained by holding this spot, set to work and soon completed a regular fortification. These proceedings, so soon following the answer of the French commander to Governour Dinwiddie's letter, induced the Legislature of Virginia to raise a small force for the protection of their frontier, and to maintain the right of his Britannick Majesty to the lands granted to the Ohio company. The command of this force, consisting of only three hundred men, was given to Colonel Fry, who died soon after their first skirmish at the Great Meadows, and Washington, his lieutenent colonel,

succeeded to the command. Thus far the Colony of Virginia stood single in her resistance to the claims and encroachments of the French; and what she had done, had been upon the sole authority of the Provincial Assembly, without the orders or instructions of the Mother Country. But the Parliament of Great Britain no sooner heard of these transactions, than they determined to make a vigorous stand in support of the Ohio Company; and for this purpose sent instructions to all the Colonies to oppose the French by force of arms, in all encroachments upon what they persisted in calling *British* territory. In pursuance of these instructions, New York and South Carolina each sent a small body of men to join Colonel Washington at the Great Meadows. Finding himself now at the head of about four hundred men, Washington determined upon attempting to drive the French from their entrenchments at Fort Duquesne. With this view he hastily constructed a small Fort at the Great Meadows, appropriately called Fort Necessity, in which he left a small guard for the protection of his munitions, and marched with the main body towards the fork of the Monongahela. But he was deterred from pursuing his purpose, by receiving information from some of the friendly Indians on the road, that Fort Duquesne had recently received strong reinforcements, and that the French were then marching in a considerable body to attack the English settlements. In this dilemma, Washington consulted his officers, who unanimously advised a retreat to the Great Meadows. They had scarcely effected this, when Monsieur de Villier the French commandant, marched upon them with a force of nearly three times their number, and attacked their little Fort. Weak and

untenable as it was, Washington maintained his post against the continued shock of the assailants, from an early hour in the morning until night, twice refusing to listen to the terms of capitulation offered by the French commander, and consenting to yield only on condition of being permitted to march out of the garrison with the honours of war, to retain his arms, and to return unmolested to Virginia. Upon his return home. Washington received a vote of thanks from the legislature for his brave conduct; but seeing no steps adopted to renew the contest, he resigned his command, and the regiment was reduced to independent companies.

The British Ministry having once seen what it was in the power of their Colonies to perform, and never losing sight of their first grand object to drive their French neighbours from the Continent, now proposed an union of the Colonies, under pretence of rendering them better able to repress French encroachments, but in reality with far different intentions. With this view, it was proposed, that the Governours and leading members of the Provincial Assemblies should hold a general meeting, which was accordingly convened at Albany, on the Hudson, in the year 1754. The result of their deliberations, however, was not altogether such as had been hoped for by the Ministry. The members were unanimously of opinion, that it might be in their power to defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain; but the plan which they proposed for this purpose was not at all relished by his Majesty's Government. It was their opinion, that "a grand council should be formed of members *to be chosen by the Provincial Assemblies*, which council, together with a Governour to be appointed by the Crown, should be authorised to make

general laws, and also to raise money from all the Colonies for their common defence." The Ministry, instead of accepting this rational scheme of union, transmitted to Governour Shirley of Massachusetts, a proposition diametrically opposite in its nature and tendency, and cunningly intended to secure *to the British Parliament* the right of raising money from the Coloniesby taxation. This Ministerial plan was, "that the Governours of all the Colonies, *attended by one or two members of their respective councils*, should from time to time concert measures for the whole of the Colonies, erect posts, and raise troops, with a power to draw upon the British treasury, in the first instance; but to be ultimately reimbursed by a *tax to be laid on the Colonies by an act of Parliament.*" The council, as well as the Governours, it will be remembered, were for the most part appointed by the Crown, so that here would have been a Congress nominally Provincial, and dependent for their existence and support upon the will of the British Ministry. It hardly required the sagacity of the patriot Franklin, to foresee the consequences to which such a system would lead. He was nevertheless consulted by Governour Shirley, and requested to give his opinion, which he did in writing, and at considerable length. He stated, in substance, that it would give great and just dissatisfaction to the people of the Colonies, to be taxed by a body in which they were not represented—That the Colonies were better judges of the force necessary for their defence, and of their means of raising money for that defence, than a British Parliament could be, at the distance of several thousand miles from the theatre of action—That the natives of the Colonies were more competent to manage their own concerns, than

any Governours who could be sent from England, whose only interest in the country seemed to be the advancement of their own fortunes, which they did not even spend among us—That to compel the Colonies to pay money for their own protection, without their consent, would imply a suspicion of their loyalty, and degrade them to the servile state of a conquered country. That if the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies were once admitted, they would continue to exercise it, for other purposes than Colonial protection; whereas if the Colonies were left to their own discretion, they would not only impose a tax upon themselves when necessary, but throw it off when that necessity no longer existed—That if Parliament assumed this right of taxation, the Provincial Assemblies might be set aside as useless—That the Colonies were, in fact, already indirectly taxed by the Mother Country, inasmuch as they were obliged to pay the heavy duties charged upon British manufactures, some of which manufactures could be supplied among themselves, and others might be purchased at a cheaper market—and, lastly, that the Colonies had, at the expense of their lives and fortunes, extended the dominion and increased the commerce of the Mother Country, and were therefore entitled to a full representation in the body which assumed the right of imposing taxes upon them.

Such were the principal objections urged by Dr. Franklin, against the plan which had been submitted to his consideration. He saw with prophetick eye, that the pretence of taxing the Colonies for their internal defence was a deceptive lure, and that the Parliament of Britain would not willingly lay aside the power, if once surrendered to their hands. The Ministry thus finding their scheme unsuccessful, abandoned it for

the present, and turned their attention once more to *French encroachments*. Here their opinions coincided with the opinions of their Colonists. It was agreed on all hands, that the French should be driven from their settlements on the Ohio, and it was further determined by the Ministry, that they should also be driven from their peaceable possessions in Canada. Intelligence of the capitulation of the English garrison under Colonel Washington, at the great Meadows, had reached England in the fall of 1754, but not a hint was given by the King of his designs, until the month of March 1755, when sir Thomas Robinson, then Secretary of State, appeared before the Parliament with a message from his Majesty of the following import: that his Majesty having, at the commencement of the session, declared it to be the principal object of his solicitude to preserve the publick tranquillity, and to protect those possessions which constitute a primary source of the publick prosperity, now found it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that the present state of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the peace of Europe, *and to secure the just rights of his crown in America*. This message produced all the effect which his Majesty could desire. One million was granted for the accomplishment of his purposes, and Admiral Boscawen was sent with a powerful armament to the banks of Newfoundland, for the avowed purpose of intercepting the French fleet which was then preparing in the ports of Brest and Rochefort, and destined for the gulf of St. Lawrence. About the same time General Braddock was dispatched from Cork, with two regiments of regular troops, and ordered to take the

command of the Provincial troops raised in Virginia, which increased his army to about two thousand men. The French fleet, with the exception of two ships, escaped the vigilance of Admiral Boscawen, and arrived safe in the gulf; but a large number of merchant ships, with eight thousand sailors, fell into the hands of the English in the course of the year, which gave a severe check to the naval operations of France. All this had been done without any open declaration of war; and the French Ambassadour in London, the Duc de Mirepoix, exclaimed against it as inconsistent with the law of nations, threatening at the same time a heavy retaliation on the part of his royal master. But the English government insisted that the French were the first aggressors, and that a formal declaration of war was not necessary to authorise them to repel force by force; as soon therefore as this intelligence arrived at Paris, the Ministers were recalled both from London and Hanover, which last was at that time the residence of George II. and a war commenced which ended with the final overthrow of the French power on the American Continent.

General Braddock had arrived in Virginia some time in May 1755. His character for bravery and military discipline stood deservedly high, but he was in every other respect utterly unqualified for the duty upon which he had been sent. He was obstinate and positive in his disposition, and austere and haughty in his deportment, particularly to those whom he considered his inferiours—and he considered *all* as his inferiours, among whom he was now placed. He was wholly unacquainted with the country, which was to be the scene of his operations, and so great was his contempt for the Colonial militia, which constituted

the greater part of his army, that he disdained to consult any of their officers, all of whom were willing and competent to give him much useful advice and information, respecting the mode of conducting warfare in American woods and morasses. He accepted the offered services of Colonel Washington, as an Aid-de-Camp, but refused to listen to his advice on any subject relating to preparations for the campaign. Thus did this fearless but obstinate General seem bent upon his own destruction. Disregarding the earnest solicitations of Washington to employ a part of the Provincial troops as an advanced guard, or to send out some reconnoitering party to watch the movements of the Indians, he boldly pushed on at the head of two thousand two hundred men, to within ten miles of Fort Duquesne. Here, about noon on the 9th of July, in a pathless swamp, surrounded by thickets of brakes and briars, he was suddenly attacked in front and flank by a shower of bullets, coming from an invisible enemy, and accompanied by the tremendous and appaling sound of the savage war-whoop. His vanguard, composed of Regulars who had never before heard such a sound, immediately fell back dismayed and confused, and though the Provincials had been accustomed to this Indian mode of assault and therefore felt no terrour, yet the confusion soon became general throughout the army. Even now it would have been in the power of Braddock to have saved himself and his army, if he had condescended to listen to the advice of his American Aid de Camp; but he persisted in trusting to that intrepid valour and discipline, which had so often distinguished him in the battles of Europe. Instead of making some effort to discover and break up the ambuscade, from which he

was suffering so much, he directed his whole exertion to rally his troops and reform them in regular order of battle. His concealed enemy were all the while pouring in fresh havock and slaughter among his men, his officers were falling all around him, for the Indians and French seemed to aim their pieces particularly at those on horseback, his aids had all been killed except Washington, and he himself had three horses shot under him. But what could courage or discipline effect in such a situation? Braddock, who had rode undismayed amidst continued showers of bullets, from point to point for three hours, at length received a mortal wound—upon his fall the regular troops fled with precipitation and disorder; but Washington whose life had been almost miraculously preserved—having lost two horses under him and received four bullets through his coat—formed the Provincials, which had been so much despised, in the rear, and covered their retreat. All the artillery, ammunition and baggage, together with the private letters and instructions of the General, fell into the hands of the enemy. Colonel Washington recrossed the Monongahela with the remnant of his Virginians, and returned home to receive further thanks and honours from his countrymen. Thus ended the first regular attempt to drive the French from their possessions on the Ohio; and thus was it clearly evinced, that courage and discipline are not the only requisites to form the character of a great General.

On the death of General Braddock, which happened a few days after the disastrous battle of the 9th, Colonel Dunbar, upon whom the command of the Regulars devolved, withdrew with them to Philadelphia; thus leaving the whole frontier of Virginia, to

an immense extent, open to the inroads and depredations of the French and Indians. Intelligence of this reached Virginia, while the Legislature of that Province were in session, and measures were immediately adopted to defend their exposed settlements. Sixteen companies were ordered to be raised, and placed under the command of Washington, in whose military skill and courage, notwithstanding his several unsuccessful campaigns, the most implicit confidence was placed by his countrymen. In addition to this immediate command, he was styled in his commission, commander in chief of all the forces *to be raised* in Virginia. For three years after the defeat of General Braddock, nothing of importance was effected by the British. War had been formally declared in the spring of 1756, and a few troops and ships had been sent out; but General Shirley, who succeeded Braddock in the chief command, confined his operations to the north. The French and Indians continued to harrass the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, the people of whom suffered every species of distress, being driven many hundred miles from their habitations and settlements, into the more settled parts of the Colonies. Washington, with his Virginians, did all that his means would enable him to do, for the protection of these unhappy people, but his regiments were never full, and the mode of warfare pursued by the enemy was such that he could never bring them to battle. General Shirley, in the mean time, amused himself with forming plans for the reduction of the fortresses on the northern lakes. The expedition against Crown Point, on lake Champlain, was entrusted to General, afterwards Sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided

in America, and whose disposition and deportment had acquired for him universal esteem. The troops, however, which were destined for this service, did not assemble at the place of rendezvous until late in the summer, and were almost immediately afterwards attacked in their camp by the Baron Dieskau; who, though his army was finally repulsed and himself made prisoner, so crippled the force of General Johnson, that the expedition was abandoned, and the General deemed it prudent to retreat to Albany. The enterprise against Niagara, which was considered as the most important position occupied by the French, being so situated as to command the communication between lakes Erie and Ontario, was undertaken by General Shirley in person; but after getting to Oswego, a small fort belonging to the English on the south-eastern shore of Ontario, and waiting there for supplies, until the season was too far advanced to cross the lake, he also abandoned his designs and returned to the head-quarters at Albany.

In June 1756, the Earl of Loudon, now appointed Commander in Chief of the British forces in America, arrived at Albany; but affairs went on with no greater spirit or activity, than they had done before his arrival. While they were consuming the time in tedious debates, against what point to direct the first efforts of the army, the French, under Montcalm, had attacked and made themselves masters of Oswego—an event so totally unexpected, that it disconcerted all their deliberations, and finally determined the Commander in Chief, to lay aside all offensive operations and go into winter quarters. No better success attended the schemes of his lordship, during the succeeding year. Instead of marching to the in-

vasion of Canada, or attempting the reduction of any of the important fortresses on the lakes, his lordship set out with his whole force for Halifax, where in conjunction with Admiral Holbourne who had just arrived with a large squadron and a powerful reinforcement of troops, it was determined to employ their united forces against the garrison of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton. Nothing could have happened more congenial to the wishes of the Marquis de Montcalm, than this determination on the part of the British Commanders—for it enabled him to march, without opposition, against the important post of Fort William Henry, on the southern shore of lake George, the only fortification which the British now held in the whole country of the lakes. The possession of this fort, which the Marquis gained after a most vigorous siege of six days, together with all its artillery and stores, gave to the French the entire command of that extensive chain of lakes which connects the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and made them masters of the whole line of communication between the northern and southern parts of the Continent. The Earl of Loudon and Admiral Holbourne, in the mean time, having received intelligence that Louisbourg was garrisoned by six thousand regular troops, besides Provincials, and that seventeen line of battle ships were moored in the harbour for its protection, thought proper to defer its intended expedition to *a more convenient opportunity*. Washington, during all this time, was struggling, with a handful of Provincials and raw militia, to avert the distress occasioned by the predatory warfare of the Indians and French from Fort Duquesne. He had repeatedly, but in vain, urged the necessity of reducing

that fortress as the only means of preventing the evils to which the neighbouring inhabitants were exposed; but neither the government of his own Colony, nor the successive Commanders in Chief of the British forces, would listen to his propositions to that effect. In one of his letters to the Governour of Virginia, he observes, "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." Thus the third year of the war was closed, without a solitary advantage to the cause of Great Britain, if we except the gallant and spirited enterprise of Colonel Moncton—who, with a body of Provincials, raised under the authority of the Assembly of Massachusetts, drove the French from their possessions in Nova Scotia.

In the year of 1758, things every where wore a different aspect. Mr. Pitt, after many dismissals and reappointments, had been at length firmly established as Principal Secretary of State, with unlimited influence over the House of Commons, and the most unbounded control over his Hanoverian master. The Earl of Loudon had returned to England, to find a better soil for the growth of laurels, and the chief command was placed in the more efficient hands of the enterprising Major General, afterwards Lord, Amherst—one of the greatest Generals that England ever boasted. Admiral Boscawen arrived from England early in the year with powerful reinforcements, and no time was lost in concerting measures for an active and spirited opening of the campaign. The number of troops, Regulars and Provincials, now

at the disposal of the Commander in Chief, showed that Mr. Pitt was determined to retrieve the errours of his predecessorus, and make up by one decisive blow, for the three years which had been lost in consultations and councils of war. No less than fifty thousand men were now assembled—a force incomparably greater than any which had ever before been seen in the new world. With twelve thousand of these men, General Amherst determined to proceed to the attack of Louisburg, the garrison of which had been considerably reduced since the abandonment of the expedition against it under the Earl of Loudon. For this purpose, he embarked on board of the fleet under Admiral Boscawen, and anchored in sight of the fortress on the 2d of June. In a few days afterwards the place was formally invested, and on the 27th of July the Chevalier Drucourt, the Governour, was compelled to accept the terms of capitulation offered by the besiegers. By this event, the whole island of Cape Breton, and several ships of the line and frigates, came into the possession of the English. It was in this siege, that Brigadier General Wolfe first excited universal attention, by the display of those brilliant talents, and that lofty intrepidity of conduct, which afterwards so eminently distinguished his short but glorious career.

General Abercrombie, about the same time, undertook at the head of fifteen thousand men, to march against the Forts of Ticonderoga and William Henry; but he met with so warm a reception in his assault upon the former, that he was compelled to retreat with the loss of two thousand men. This so completely dispirited him, that he would not consent to renew the attack; but, though his force was still much superiour to that of the enemy, drew them off and returned to

his camp at lake George. Lord Howe was among the number of those who fell on this occasion, and to his grief for the loss of this most amiable and heroick young nobleman to whom he was most ardently attached, may perhaps be attributed that state of mind in the General, which induced him to abandon an enterprise that must have proved successful in its further prosecution. Colonel Bradstreet, who had been detached by General Abercrombie with a considerable force against Frontenac, a fort situated on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence at the foot of Lake Ontario, was more successful, having reduced that post without much loss.

The defence of the middle and southern Colonies had, in the mean time, been confided to Brigadier General Forbes, who, to the great joy of Washington, lent a more willing ear than had yet been given, to the proposition for the immediate reduction of Fort Duquesne. The General's force, however, was so variously dispersed, that six months were consumed in bringing it together; and though Washington was constantly urging the necessity of expedition, and using every remonstrance, which his experience and knowledge of the country authorised him to make, against useless delays, it was not until the 5th of November, that the army reached Loyal Hannah, still ten days march from their place of destination. Here a council of war was held, on the propriety of proceeding further, so late in the season, which, like most councils of war, came precisely to that determination which would have rendered all their exertions fruitless and perhaps have destroyed the army, if chance had not stepped in to reverse their decision. The council had determined that it was "unadvisable to pro-

ceed any further that campaign" and the only alternative left was either to spend the winter in a dreary wilderness with an army of eight thousand men, or to retrace their steps over mountains and morasses, rendered every day more and more difficult and dangerous by ice and snows. It was fortunately not left for the council to choose between these two evils—a few scattering Indians who were made prisoners, gave such information of the weakened state of the garrison at Fort Duquesne, that the General was induced to proceed, contrary to the advice of his council, and on the 25th of November they entered the Fort without opposition—the enemy having previously dismantled and abandoned it, that all their forces might be concentrated to oppose the vigorous measures of the British in the North. The capture of Fort Duquesne, (which now received the name of Fort *Pitt*, in compliment to the great man at the head of the Ministry in England,) put an end to the war in the South, and a formal treaty of peace was soon after concluded between the British and all the Indian nations spread over the extensive country between the Ohio and the Lakes. The following speech of an Indian Warrior, at the meeting of the commissioners for settling the treaty of peace will show in a clear light the different conduct pursued by the English and French, towards these despised natives of the forest, and the sort of right by which the former laid claim to the lands which they now held by force of arms.—"Bretheren—I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. Bretheren, the cause why the Indians of Ohio left you is owing to yourselves. The Governour of Virginia settled in our

lands, and disregarded our messages: but, when the French came to us, they traded with our people, used them kindly and gained their affections. Our cousins on the Minisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English, settling so fast upon them as not to know whether they have any lands remaining in surety. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild animals of the forests, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel the bark of a single tree to cover our cabins--surely this is hard. Our fathers, when they sold the land, did not purpose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a branch of wood. Bretheren, we have already acquainted you with our grievances; and we have referred our cause to the great King. I desire to know if King George has yet decided this matter, and whether justice will be done to the Minisinks?"—In reply to this appeal of simple eloquence, the poor Indians were assured by the English commissioners that "full justice should be done to the Minisinks" and that "fresh earth should be put to the roots of the tree of peace between the British and Indian nations, in order that it might *bear up against every storm,* and flourish *as long as the sun shone, and the rivers continued to flow.*" Let the history of Indian wrongs tell how worthily this promise was fulfilled.

The events of 1758 sufficiently showed that nothing was wanting to the complete success of the English arms in America, but a vigorous prosecution of the measures which had been so ably planned. General Amherst was determined, not to stop short of gaining the whole northern Continent. To accomplish this daring project, the army were divided into three grand

corps—With the first, aided by a strong squadron of ships of war, Brigadier General Wolfe was ordered to undertake the difficult and hazardous enterprise of storming Quebec, the capitol of French America—General Amherst, himself, with the principal body, proposed, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crownpoint, to cross Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, and marching along the eastern bank of the St. Lawrence to join General Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. The third corps was entrusted to Brigadier-General Prideaux, who was joined by a considerable body of Indians under Sir William Johnson—this force was ordered to invest the important post of Niagara, and after the reduction of that fortress, to embark on Lake Ontario, proceed down the St. Lawrence, gain possession of Montreal, and then join the other two divisions of the army at Quebec.—This was a plan worthy of the enterprising genius of Lord Amherst; and though it was hardly possible that it should have succeeded in every particular, yet it led to the final and full accomplishment of his glorious design. Ticonderoga and Crownpoint fell into his hands without bloodshed, the enemy having successively abandoned both, just as he was preparing to invest them, and retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the opposite extremity of Lake Champlain. Niagara also capitulated to General Johnson on the 25th of July, General Prideaux having been unfortunately killed in the trenches by the bursting of a shell. But notwithstanding these successes, various circumstances combined to prevent either of these Generals from pursuing the original project. General Amherst was prevented by a succession of storms and tempests, from going to the attack of the Isle aux Noix, which it was necessary to

subdue before he could proceed with safety to Quebec, and other objects of insurmountable difficulty compelled General Johnson to remain where he was, and leave the siege of Montreal unattempted for the present. Thus was the enterprise, assigned to General Wolfe, rendered doubly difficult and hazardous, by the absence of those aids and reinforcements, which his knowledge of the original plan of the Commander in Chief, led him to expect. But Wolfe was not to be deterred from attempting the glorious task imposed upon him—now rendered still more glorious, by the failure of those who were to share its dangers and its honours. On his arrival at the island of Orleans, which forms the N. E. limit of the basin of Quebec, he saw at once from the situation of the town, and the strong position which the enemy occupied, that all his hopes of success must rest upon his being able to bring them to battle. The city of Quebec is situated at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles. On the side next the St. Lawrence, what is called the Lower town is divided from the Upper, by a steep and almost perpendicular bank of jutting and broken rock, which extends along the course of the river to a considerable distance west of the City. On the other side runs the St. Charles, on the left bank of which the Marquis de Montcalm was encamped, with ten thousand men. Besides, the fortifications for the protection of the city were deemed almost impregnable. In this situation, General Wolfe, after several vain attempts to draw the Marquis from his strong position, determined upon attacking him in his entrenchments, and for this purpose landed his troops near the falls of Montmorency, under cover of the guns of his ships. But, whatever might have been the issue of the day,

the design of the General was entirely defeated by the impetuosity of his grenadiers, who rushing to the attack in defiance of orders, were soon dreadfully cut to pieces and compelled to retire. Thus disconcerted, the General reluctantly gave orders to recross the river and return to the Island of Orleans, which was done amidst a galling and destructive fire from the enemy. It is hardly possible to conceive a situation more calculated to depress a susceptible mind, than that of the General at this period. He saw the utter impossibility of any cooperation on the part of General Amherst, and knew that whatever might be his difficulties, reproach and censure would follow his want of success. His letters to England at this critical moment, while they exhibited in gloomy colours the despondency of his mind, displayed at the same time the determined purpose of a soul bent upon noble daring. To his intimate friends he breathed out the distress of his feelings more openly, and repeatedly declared that he would not survive defeat.

Finding from the disastrous issue of his attempt upon the side of Montmorency, that his plan of attack must be changed, General Wolfe, with a temerity that might almost be deemed desperate, determined to scale the bank before described, on the side of the St. Lawrence, and gain possession of the heights above the town, called the heights of Abraham. With this view Admiral Saunders moved up with the fleet some distance above the intended place of landing, in the day, in order to deceive the enemy, and dropping down again with the current at night, the landing of the troops was happily effected without its being discovered. This however was but the least difficult part of the undertaking—the rocks were yet to be climbed; a

bank was yet to be ascended, which had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. But nothing is impracticable to determined spirits. With fatigue and labour almost incredible, the troops at length gained the summit, and were immediately formed in order of battle. When the Marquis of Montcalm was told that the English army were in possession of the heights of Abraham, his astonishment exceeded all power of utterance; but that brave and gallant officer was not long in determining to seek an engagement. He saw that the fate of the city depended upon the issue of an immediate battle, and leaving his strong hold of Montmorency, he crossed the St Charles, and advanced to the lines of the English army with the most intrepid valour. A desperate contest ensued, in which both armies fought as if determined to yield only with their lives. Early in the action General Wolfe received a musket ball through his wrist, but binding it up with his handkerchief, he continued to be seen every where, animating his men to deeds of glory. At the next moment a cannon ball passed under his horse's legs, and he was thrown to the ground—several of the soldiers flew to raise him, but "away, to your posts" said he, refusing their assistance, and remounting, with the rapidity of thought. Advancing soon afterwards at the head of his brave grenadiers, another ball, winged with more deadly aim pierced his breast, and he was compelled to retire from the closing ranks. In this situation, faint and dying, with his head supported by one of his officers, he continued to be more concerned for the issue of the battle than for his own fate, inquiring at every moment with eager anxiety how his troops stood the conflict. Generals Moncton and Townsend lost none of their ardour in the absence of

their Commander—the whole army continued to feel the vigorous impulse which had been given by his presence and conduct. The Marquis de Montcalm at length receiving a mortal wound, the French army began to give way in every direction, and the cry of "they fly—they fly"—reached the ears of the expiring Wolfe—"*who* fly"? said he, grasping his sword with the momentary strength of doubtful emotion—"The French"! eagerly replied those around him, while almost at the same moment, the standard of the enemy was laid at his feet—"Then I die content," said this British Epaminondas, and sinking upon the trophy of his army's victory closed his eyes for ever.

The city of Quebec soon after capitulated, and the French army retired to Montreal. This and the Isle aux Noix were now the only holds of the French in Canada. The Chevalier de Levis who succeeded M. de Montcalm in the command of the French forces, aware of the necessity of attempting to regain the capital before the British army should have time to receive reinforcements or supplies, collected his scattered troops from every part of Canada, and in the month of April 1760, commenced his march for Quebec. General Murray, who had been appointed Governour of Quebec, had in the mean time taken an advantageous position in the vicinity of the city, where he awaited the approach of the Chevalier. The English army, reduced as it had been by the bloody conflict on the heights of Abraham, was unable to withstand the superiour numbers of the French, and soon retired within the walls of the city; which must again inevitably have fallen into the hands of its former masters, but for the timely appearance of the English fleet

in the Gulph of St. Lawrence. Intelligence of this circumstance induced the French Commander precipitately to raise the siege, and retrace his steps to Montreal; leaving all his artillery and stores on the field of battle.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governour-General of Canada, now found that his last remaining hope was in the defence of Montreal, which he had taken every pains to strengthen, by the erection of new fortifications, and the collection of immense supplies. The city of Montreal is situated on the south side of the island of the same name, formed by the union of Grand river and the lake St. Lewis with the St. Lawrence. Its position by nature is such that it may be easily defended against any attack, and as easily cut off from all supplies by an invading army. It is covered in front by two small islands, and in the rear by a lofty mountain which overlooks every part of the island: upon neither of these spots, however, was any fortification erected. General Amherst, whose plans in every instance seem to have been dictated by the very spirit of military genius, ordered Colonel Haviland with a strong force to reduce the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to Longueil on the south bank of the St. Lawrence: General Murray was directed at the same time to move up with his forces from Quebec, while General Amherst himself, embarked the main body of his army on Lake Ontario, and proceeding down the St. Lawrence came to their cooperation and assistance. The island of Montreal was thus completely invested, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, cut off from all hope of assistance, deemed it prudent to offer such terms of capitulation as were readily accepted by the English Commander. Thus ended the campaigns of 1760 in

America; and thus was the project of General Amherst, which had at first been looked upon as romantick and visionary, finally achieved.

CHAPTER III.

Resignation of Mr. Pitt—Appointment of Lord Bute—Peace of Fontainbleau—Mr. Grenville made Prime Minister—His proposition to tax the Colonies—Resolutions imposing Stamp Duties—and the consequences thereof.

The successes which attended the English arms in America, more than any thing else, contributed to the restoration of peace in Europe. George the IIIrd. had succeeded to the throne of Great Britain soon after the capture of Quebec, and Mr. Pitt, finding his influence with the new King not sufficiently great to allow him to guide the measures for which the nature of his situation in the Cabinet made him responsible, resigned the Seals in October 1761. The Earl of Bute, who had been raised only two days after the old King's death to the Privy Council, was in the following year made Prime Minister. His first object was the restoration of peace, and contrary to the wishes of the nation, who seemed desirous of pushing their conquests still further, a negociation for that purpose was opened at Fontainbleau, and the preliminaries signed in November 1762. When the King made this known to the Parliament, at the opening of their session on the 25th of the same month, the clamour against the Minister was loud and strong—Mr. Pitt declared the tenour of the treaty to be derogatory to the honour and interests of the nation. "He was determined (he said) afflicted as he was with illness, at the hazard of his life, to attend the House that day—to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm against the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obscured all the glories of

the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies." But the Minister prevailed and the treaty was soon after formally ratified. By this treaty, Great Britain gained both provinces of Canada, the whole of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, the island of Cape Breton, and all the islands in the Gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and thus became mistress of nearly the whole Continent of North America—In Europe the advantages of the treaty were equally great, so that it is difficult to conceive the grounds of Mr. Pitt's objections to a peace which brought with it such extensive additions to the British Empire. Scarcely were the ratifications of this treaty exchanged when the Earl of Bute, to the astonishment of the whole nation, resigned his place of Premier, which was immediately given to Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, and of course connected with the family of Mr. Pitt. It was now generally supposed that Mr. Pitt would be brought again into the Cabinet; but after several overtures made to him by the King himself, that honest statesman and patriot declared that he could not consent to take part in an Administration which excluded all the great Whig families of the nation.

Great Britain having now subdued all her enemies, and extended her Empire beyond her most ambitious hopes, began to feel the pride of her strength. But a debt had been contracted, which weighed heavily upon the people, and which called loudly upon the Minister for the exertion of all his financial ingenuity. And here begins the story of American wrongs. Hitherto when money was wanted from the Colonies, the Parliament of England had been content to ask for it

formal requisition upon the Colonial Legislatures, they had supplied it with a willing hand. But it was thought that a shorter method of obtaining ight be resorted to with better effect; and Mr. ge Grenville, in 1764, had the hardihood to pro- a measure which Sir Robert Walpole had some s before declared "too hazardous for him to venture ."—This measure of Mr. Grenville had for its red object to raise a revenue in America, *the en- produce of which was to go into the Exchequer reat Britain.* We have before seen the effect h was produced in America, and the consequen- which were predicted by Dr. Franklin, at the pro- ion to tax the Colonies, even when the produce to be applied to their own defence and protection. ay be easily conceived then that the present pro- of the Minister excited the strongest feelings of n and inquietude among the Americans.

t an early period in the present year, the Minis- ad proposed several *Resolutions,* as a sort of pre- to his grand scheme, laying additional duties imports into the Colonies from foreign Coun- These Resolutions were passed by Parliament out much debate or notice, and though they awak- some fears among the reflecting politicians of rica, they were quietly acquiesced in, as a com- ial regulation, which it was acknowledged, Great in had a right to control. About the same time nphlet appeared, avowedly from the pen of Gov- r Bernard of Massachusetts, in which the right reat Britain to tax the Colonies was strongly tained. It was evident from the sentiments con- d in this pamphlet, that Governour Bernard had employed as the mere tool of the Minister, and

that a system of oppression was in preparation, which portended a speedy and fatal blow to the liberties of the Colonies. It was contended, in this extraordinary production, that the universal political rule of confining taxation to representation, could only apply to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and not to the people of these Colonies—that the *Charters* themselves could only be considered as mere *temporary* instruments, suited to the state of *infant* Colonies, but unconstitutional, and hostile to the very nature of the English government, as applied to them in their present increased state of importance—that if the Charters could be pleaded against the authority of the Parliament, they amounted in fact to an alienation of the King's dominions, and a dismemberment of the Empire. The writer went on to propose, *that all the Charters should be abolished*, and that there should be an entire new division of the Colonies—that there should be a *nobility for life* in each new division, and one General Government for the whole under the control of the King.

These and many other propositions equally hostile to the liberties and welfare of the Colonies, clearly pointed out the hand of the Minister. Indeed his agency in the business was scarcely left to inference alone—Emissaries were sent from England to several of the Colonies, to sound the men of influence on the great changes proposed. That, in the new modelling of the Charters, it was proposed to form Massachusetts and New-Hampshire into one Province, was confessed by Governour Wentworth himself; and as a death blow at once to that liberty of conscience, the preservation of which had been the first object of our fathers in seeking the new world, it was proposed to abolish all Colonial acts which made Ministers of the

Gospel dependent on voluntary contribution, and to confine all offices of trust, power, or emolument to those who professed the faith of the Church of England. The Governour of New Hampshire was especially instructed to suffer no *schoolmaster* to exercise his profession, without a *license from the Bishop*.

Among the resolutions reported by Mr. Grenville on the 10th of March 1764, was one imposing certain *Stamp duties* in the Colonies, the nature of which it is hardly necessary to define at the present day. The Minister himself was so well aware of the great importance of this Resolution, that he declared to the House his desire that it should not be acted upon until the next session of Parliament. This gave to the Colonial agents in London an opportunity of sending a copy of the Resolution to their respective Colonies, and of giving them notice of the law proposed to be founded upon it. When it was received in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, a committee was immediately appointed to prepare an address to the King, and to the two Houses of Parliament, expressing their sense of the consequence of such a measure to the Colonies. Their address to the King was in the following terms.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty."

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and Burgesses of your ancient Colony and dominion of *Virginia*, now met in General Assembly, beg leave to assure your Majesty of our firm and inviolable attachment to your sacred person and government; and as your faithful subjects, here, have at all times been zealous to demonstrate this truth, by a ready compliance with the royal requisitions during the late war, by which a heavy and oppressive

reason sufficient to support such a power in the British Parliament, where the Colonies cannot be represented: a power never before constitutionally assumed, and which if they have a right to exercise on any occasion, must necessarily establish this melancholy truth that the inhabitants of the Colonies are the slaves of *Britons* from whom they are descended; and from whom they might expect every indulgence that the obligations of interest and affection can entitle them to.

"Your memorialists have been invested with the right of taxing their own people from the first establishment of a regular government in the Colony, and requisitions have been constantly made to them by their sovereigns, on all occasions when the assistance of the Colony was thought necessary to preserve the *British* interest in *America;* from whence they must conclude, they cannot now be deprived of a right they have so long enjoyed, and which they have never forfeited.

"The expenses incurred during the last war, in compliance with the demands on this Colony by our late and present most gracious Sovereigns, have involved us in a debt of near half a million, a debt not likely to decrease under the continued expense we are at, in providing for the security of the people against the incursions of our savage neighbours; at a time when the low state of our staple commodity, the total want of specie, and the late restrictions upon the trade of the Colonies, render the circumstances of the people extremely distressful; and which if taxes are accumulated upon them, by the *British* Parliament, will make them truly deplorable.

"Your memorialists cannot suggest to themselves any reason why they should not still be trusted with

›roperty of their people, with whose abilities, and
›ast burthensome mode of taxing (with great def-
›e to the superiour wisdom of Parliament) they
be best acquainted.

Your memorialists hope they shall not be suspect-
' being actuated on this occasion, by any princi-
but those of the purest loyalty and affection, as
always endeavoured by their conduct to demon-
e, that they consider their connexion with *Great*
ain, the seat of liberty, as their greatest happi-
.

The duty they owe to themselves, and their pos-
r, lays your memorialists under the necessity of
avouring to establish their Constitution, upon its
er foundation; and they do most humbly pray
lordships to take this subject into your consider-
ı, with the attention that is due to the well be-
›f the Colonies, on which the prosperity of *Great*
ain does, in a great measure, depend."

nd the remonstrance to the House of Commons
this!

To the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-
›s of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled:

The remonstrance of the Council and Burgesses
'irginia.

It appearing, by the printed votes of the House
'ommons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assem-
, that in a Committee of the whole House, the 17th
of *March* last, it was resolved, that towards de-
ing, protecting, and securing the British Colonies
Plantations in America, it may be proper to charge
ıin Stamp duties in the said Colonies and planta-
ı; and it being apprehended that the same sub-
which was then declined, may be resumed and

further pursued in a succeeding session, the Council and Burgesses of Virginia, met in General Assembly, judge it their indispensable duty, in a respectful manner, but with decent firmness, to remonstrate against such a measure, that at least a cession of those rights, which in their opinion must be infringed by that procedure, may not be inferred from their silence, at so important a crisis.

"They conceive it is essential to *British* liberty, that laws, imposing taxes on the people, ought not to be made without the consent of representatives chosen by themselves; who at the same time that they are acquainted with the circumstances of their constituents, sustain a portion of the burthen laid on them. The privileges inherent in the persons who discovered and settled these regions, could not be renounced or forfeited by their removal hither, not as vagabonds or fugitives, but licensed and encouraged by their Prince, and animated with a laudable desire of enlarging the *British* dominion, and extending its commerce: on the contrary, it was secured to them and their descendants, with all other rights and immunities of British subjects, by a Royal Charter, which hath been invariably recognized and confirmed by his Majesty and his predecessours, in their commissions to the several Governours, granting a power, and prescribing a form of legislation; according to which, laws for the administration of justice, and for the welfare and good government of the Colony, have been hitherto enacted by the Governour, Council, and General Assembly, and to them, requisitions and applications for supplies have been directed by the Crown. As an instance of the opinion which former Sovereigns entertained of these rights and privileges, we beg leave to refer to

three acts of the General Assembly, passed in the 32d year of the reign of King *Charles* II. one of which is entitled '*An act for raising a publick revenue for the better support of the government of his Majesty's Colony of Virginia,*' imposing several duties for that purpose, which being thought absolutely necessary, were prepared in *England*, and sent over by their then Governour, the Lord *Culpeper*, to be passed by the General Assembly, with a full power to give the royal assent thereto; and which were accordingly passed, after several amendments were made to them here: thus tender was his Majesty of the rights of his *American* subjects; and the remonstrants do not discern by what distinction they can be deprived of that sacred birthright and most valuable inheritance by their fellow subjects, nor with what propriety they can be taxed or affected in their estates, by the Parliament, wherein they are not, and indeed cannot, constitutionally be represented.

"And if it were proposed for the Parliament to impose taxes on the Colonies at all, which the remonstrants take leave to think would be inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the exercise of that power, at this time, would be ruinous to *Virginia*, who exerted herself in the late war, it is feared beyond her strength, insomuch that to redeem the money granted for that exigence, her people are taxed for several years to come: this, with the larger expenses incurred for defending the frontiers against the restless *Indians*, who have infested her as much since the peace as before, is so grievous, that an increase of the burthen would be intolerable: especially as the people are very greatly distressed already from the scarcity of circulating cash amongst them,

and from the little value of their Staple at the *British* markets.

"And it is presumed, that adding to that load which the Colony now labours under, will not be more oppressive to her people, than destructive of the interest of *Great Britain:* for the Plantation trade, confined as it is to the Mother Country, hath been a principal means of multiplying and enriching her inhabitants; and, if not too much discouraged, may prove an inexhaustible source of treasure to the nation. For satisfaction in this point, let the present state of the *British* fleets and trade be compared with what they were before the settlement of the Colonies; and let it be considered, that whilst property in land may be acquired on very easy terms, in the vast uncultivated territory of *North America,* the Colonists will be mostly, if not wholly, employed in agriculture, whereby the exportation of their commodities to *Great Britain,* and the consumption of manufactures supplied from thence, will be daily increasing. But this most desirable connexion between *Great Britain* and her Colonies, supported by such a happy intercourse of reciprocal benefits as is continually advancing the prosperity of both, must be interrupted, if the people of the latter, reduced to extreme poverty, should be compelled to manufacture those articles they have been hitherto furnished with, from the former.

"From these considerations, it is hoped that the Honourable House of Commons will not prosecute a measure which those who may suffer under it, cannot but look upon as fitter for exiles driven from their native Country, after ignominiously forfeiting her favours and protection, than for the posterity of *Britons,* who have at all times been forward to demonstrate all

due reverence to the Mother Kingdom; and are so instrumental in promoting her glory and felicity; and that *British* patriots will never consent to the exercise of any anticonstitutional power, which, even in this remote corner, may be dangerous in its example to the interiour parts of the *British* empire, and will certainly be detrimental to its commerce."

It was perhaps the tone of humility and suppliance breathed throughout these papers, that deceived the Ministry into a belief, that the people of the Colonies had no design of carrying their opposition further than remonstrance. But a less obstinate man than Mr. Grenville might have seen enough, in the firmness with which they contended for their constitutional exemption from taxation by the Parliament, to have taught him that they could not readily be brought to submit: and a Minister of more enlarged and liberal views would have been deterred from prosecuting a favourite scheme, by contemplating the picture which is here exhibited of the sufferings which must necessarily follow a further pressure upon resources already exhausted—not for themselves, but for the aggrandizement of the British Empire.

The Legislative Assembly of Massachusetts, though they made no address to the King or Parliament, passed sundry resolutions strongly expressing their disapprobation of the proposed measure, and explicitly denying the right of Parliament to impose such a tax upon the Colonies. They also appointed a Committee to correspond with the Legislatures of the other Colonies during their recess, and invite them to a free interchange of sentiments.

Most of the Colonies adopted some means of making known their opposition to the measures of the Min-

istry. Some of them admitted the right of Parliament to impose a tax *for Colonial purposes*, but all most pertinaciously denied their right to raise a revenue from the Colonies to be paid into the British Exchequer, and placed at the disposal of the British Parliament. They urged, in opposition to the sentiments of the Minister and the arguments found in the pamphlet of Governour Bernard, that the claim of England was contrary to the spirit and letter of the English Constitution—that as the Colonies were not, and could not be, *represented* in the British Parliament, it was the very essence of tyranny to attempt to exercise an authority over them which must inevitably lead to gross abuse. They urged that they had never refused, during the long and expensive war in which they bore so large a part, to contribute to the utmost of their ability, in many instances much more than their regular proportion, when it was asked for by a constitutional requisition upon their own Assemblies—that Great Britain already enjoyed advantages more than equivalent to any expense she had been at in rearing and protecting her Colonies, in the monopoly of their trade and the entire control of their commerce.

Some of the Colonies went so far as to offer a specifick sum in lieu of the proposed tax, provided it might be received as a *voluntary donation*, and not as a revenue which the Parliament had a right to demand.

In answer to the ridiculous argument which had been used by some of the Minister's friends, that the Americans were *already represented*, and that they were included in the general system of representation, in the same manner as a large proportion of the inhabitants of the British islands, *who had no votes in the election of members of Parliament;* it was justly con-

tended, that "the very essence of representation consists in this—that the representative is himself placed in a situation analogous to those whom he represents, so that he shall be himself bound by the laws which he is entrusted to enact, and *liable to the taxes which he is authorised to impose.* This is precisely the case, said they, with regard to the national representation of Britain. Those who do, and those who do not elect, together with the elected body themselves, are, in respect to this grand and indispensable requisite, upon a perfect equality—that the laws made and the taxes imposed extend alike to all. But in the case of American taxation, these *mock representatives* actually relieve themselves in the very same proportion that they burden those whom they falsely and ridiculously pretended to represent."

But all this powerful reasoning on the part of the Colonies, produced no effect in the British Parliament. They would not even suffer the memorials or remonstrances to be read in the House of Commons. The Minister however proposed, as a great indulgence, that the Colonial Agents might be heard at the Bar of the House *by counsel;* but this was indignantly refused by the Agents, who said that their respective Colonies did not mean to *petition* but to *protest* against the passage of the act. Doctor Franklin, the Agent for the Colony of Massachusetts, waited upon Mr. Grenville in person, and endeavoured by the weight of his influence and the knowledge of his high standing at home, to dissuade him from a measure which would set the whole Continent of America in a ferment. But Mr. Grenville was too obstinate, too fond of power, and too vain of the policy of his own scheme, to listen to any dissuasions; and in March 1765, the Bill for

laying a stamp duty in America was brought into the House of Commons.

The influence of the Minister was so great, that very few dared to oppose him, or to say any thing against the passage of the Bill. General Conway was the only man who contended against the *right* of Parliament to enact such a law. Mr. Charles Townsend ended a long speech on the side of the Minister, in the following words: "And now will these Americans, children *planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence,* till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and *protected by our arms,* will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"—Colonel Barrè, one of the most respectable members of the House of Commons, with strong feelings of indignation visible in his countenance and manner, thus eloquently replied—"They *planted by your care!*—No, your oppression planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others to the cruelty of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of the earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends—*They nourished up by your indulgence!*—They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and in another, who were, perhaps, the *deputies of deputies* to

some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men who promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who to my knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.—*They protected by your arms!*—They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interiour parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superiour to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate—I will say no more."

Amazement and hesitation seemed to pervade the House for a time; but the impression made by the half smothered prophecy of Colonel Barrè was too transient to produce any good effect. The Bill was passed by the Commons, and met with no opposition at all in the House of Lords. On the 22d of the same month,

it received the royal assent, and became a monument of Ministerial folly. Soon after the passage of the Act, Doctor Franklin, in a letter to Mr. Charles Thompson, afterwards Secretary to Congress, has these words: "The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy;" and to Mr. Ingersoll on his departure from London he said—"Go home and tell your people to *get children as fast as they can.*" Neither the Doctor, nor any of the Agents, as it appeared, entertained any apprehensions of open resistance in the Colonies to the execution of the law: for when the Minister, as an especial act of favour, proposed that they should themselves name the officers to be appointed under the new law, they did not hesitate to mention those among their friends, whose appointment, they supposed, would be least offensive to their respective Colonies. But far different were the feelings on this side of the Atlantic, as will presently be seen.

The Act itself was not intended to go into operation until the month of November 1765, so that the Colonies would have time to express their opinions of it, without being at once compelled to oppose it by any open act of rebellion. When the intelligence of its final passage reached the Colonies, the fury of the people exceeded all bounds. In Boston, more particularly, they proceeded to every act of violence that could show their abhorrence, as well of the law itself as of those who were instrumental in procuring its enactment. The ships in their harbour hung their colours half-mast, and the bells throughout the town were muffled and tolled. The masters of the vessels that brought the *Stamps* were treated with every mark of indignity, and compelled to deliver the Stamps to the popu-

Race who made a bonfire of them and of the law. Effigies of the Minister and some of his most active friends were made and publickly burned. The Justices of the Peace refused to interpose their authority—the Stamp Officers declared they would never distribute a single Stamp—and what was of the most alarming importance to Great Britain, the merchants entered into a solemn engagement to import no more goods until the act was repealed.

A different course was pursued in Virginia—this expression of publick feeling was not left to the populace; the Legislature itself at once determined to give it the high sanction of their interference; and to this end the following resolutions were introduced by Mr. Patrick Henry—one of the most illustrious members of a House, at that time conspicuous for the genius, learning, refinement, and patriotism of those who composed it. We are indebted to the eloquent biographer of Mr. Henry, the present Attorney General of the United States, for the copy of these resolutions as we shall lay them before our readers; and the facts connected with them are too well worthy of historical record to be omitted.

"After his death (says Mr. Wirt) there was found among his papers one sealed and thus endorsed: "Inclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia Assembly in 1765, concerning the Stamp Act. Let my executors open this paper." Within was found the following copy of the resolutions, in Mr. Henry's hand-writing.

"Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this, his Majesty's Colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his Majesty's said Colony all the privileges, franchi-

ses, and immunities, that have been at any time held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the Colonists, aforesaid, are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities, of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people of this most ancient Colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and the same hath never been forfeited, or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, That the General Assembly of this Colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

"On the back of the paper containing these resolutions, is the following endorsement, which is also in the hand-writing of Mr. Henry himself. "The with-

Am resolutions passed the house of Burgesses in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the Stamp Act, and the scheme of taxing America by the British Parliament. All the Colonies, either through fear, or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or from influence of some kind or other had remained silent. I had been for the first time elected a Burgess, a few days before, was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the house, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture, and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law-book wrote the within. Upon offering them to the house, violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me, by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the Ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the Colonies. This brought on the war, which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy—If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable.—Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation.

"Reader! whoever thou art, remember this, and in thy sphere, practise virtue thyself, and encourage it in others.—P. HENRY."

These resolutions, as Mr. Henry has said, were vehemently opposed by some of the most powerful speakers of the house, and it required all his persuasive eloquence to gain for them the sanction of a majority. It was in his speech in favour of these resolutions that he was interrupted with the cry of "treason," from the Speaker and several members of the House. A manuscript copy of the Resolutions was immediately sent to Philadelphia and thence to New York; in both of which places they produced such alarm among the timid and loyal inhabitants, that scarcely a word was heard in the streets above a whisper. In Rhode Island and Connecticut, where it had been previously supposed that the people would tamely submit to the exactions of the law, the intelligence of what had been done in Virginia, aroused the most violent feelings. Mobs collected in every part and burned the effigies of the friends of the Stamp Act. In Boston the people were excited to still louder expressions of discontent—the Resolutions there were openly published in the Newspapers—handbills were published calling upon the people to resist with their lives the imposition of the tax. All these disorders were attributed by Governour Bernard to the inflammatory resolutions of Mr. Henry.

By degrees the people of all the Colonies began to entertain but one feeling on the subject, which pervaded all classes of society. Town meetings were every where held, and the representatives of the people were every where instructed to show by some Legislative act, their detestation of the usurpation of Parliament. In the town of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, the instructions given to their representative deserve to be recorded. After some expressions of loyalty,

and attachment to the British constitution, they say: "You, sir, represent a people, who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit *the very spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the foundation of the British Empire, in this part of America*, which from a very small beginning, has increased and spread in a manner very surprising, and almost incredible, especially when we consider that all this has been effected without the aid or assistance of any power on earth; that we have defended, protected, and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelties of savages, and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by Stamps, or Stamp Acts, laid upon our fellow subjects, in any part of the King's dominions, for defraying the expense thereof. This place, Sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and we hope, will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and beasts. To this place our fathers, (whose memories be revered,) possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, disdained slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges, which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived, by the hands of violence and oppression, in their native country. We, Sir, their posterity, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally assembled for that purpose; possessed of the same sentiments, and retaining the same ardour for liberty, think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express to you these our sentiments of the Stamp Act, and its fatal consequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you (consistent with

our allegiance to the King, and relation to the government of Great Britain) disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your power and influence in opposition to the Stamp Act, at least till we hear the success of our petitions for relief. We likewise, to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences, and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you, to obtain if possible, in the honourable House of Representatives of this Province, a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their publick records, that all generations yet to come, may be convinced, that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we *never, with submission to Divine Providence, will be slaves to any power on earth.*"

This was the sort of spirit which now animated the great body of the American people from Massachusetts to South Carolina. Nor was it indeed confined to the Continent, for the people in the West India Islands showed a determination equally strong to resist the Stamp Act.

CHAPTER IV.

Meeting of the first Continental Congress at New York—They publish a manifesto, and petition the King and Parliament—1st. of November 1765 observed throughout the Colonies as a day of mourning—Publick funeral of Liberty in New Hampshire—non-importation agreement—the people refuse to use Stamps—effects of the popular ferment upon the Parliament—debates upon its repeal—effects of the non-importation upon the Merchants of London—their petition to the King and Parliament—Repeal of the Stamp Act—universal joy of the Americans in consequence.

On the sixth day of June 1765, a resolution was moved by Mr. James Otis, in the Assembly of Massachusetts, setting forth the expediency of calling a continental Congress, to be composed of deputies from the Legislatures of each respective Province, to consult on the present circumstances of the Colonies, and to consider the most proper means of averting the difficulties under which they laboured. The Governour and other friends of the Ministerial party, finding that it would be vain to oppose such a measure in the present state of popular excitement, made a merit of necessity and appeared to take the lead in it, that they might on the passage of the resolution, be enabled to form their committee out of the friends of the government. The resolution passed without much opposition. New York was fixed upon as the place of meeting, early in the month of October ensuing. The committee appointed, on the part of Massachusetts were James Otis jun. Oliver Patridge, and Timothy Ruggles—of whom Governour Bernard, in his letter to the Lords of trade, thus expresses his approbation. "Two of the three chosen are fast friends to government,

prudent and discreet men, such as I am sure will never consent to any *improper application* to the government of Great Britain."

These gentlemen lost no time in preparing a letter to the Speakers of the several Colonial Assemblies, enclosing the resolution, and requesting their concurrence therewith. *South Carolina* was the first to yield assent to the proposed Congress. The Governours of New York, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, prorogued their respective Legislatures, and thus prevented them from acceding to the proposition; but in the first of these Colonies the Committee, who had been appointed in the preceding year as a Committee of general correspondence during the recess of the Legislature, took upon themselves the responsibility of attending the meeting, in behalf of their Colony, and their authority was confirmed by the succeeding Assembly.

On the second Tuesday of October 1765, the day appointed, twenty eight deputies, viz: from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, and the Committee as already mentioned of New York, met at the City of New York and after appointing Mr. Ruggles of Massachusetts their Chairman, proceeded to deliberate on the subject of their grievances. It was agreed to draw up a manifesto of their grievances, and a declaration of rights, in which they respectfully but firmly asserted their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. They also determined upon a memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the King and Commons. These papers were signed only by the members from six Colonies—those from Connecticut, New York, and South

Carolina not having been empowered to do so. The Chairman, Mr. Ruggles, one of those upon whose *loyalty* the Governour of Massachusetts had so strongly calculated, left the meeting without signing; and his colleague, Mr. Otis, was upon the point of doing the same, but fortunately the influence of Mr. Thomas Lynch was successfully exerted to prevent him.

The Congress having completed the business before them, dissolved its meeting on the 25th of October. Those Colonies which had not sent Committees, adopted the same sentiments by subsequent resolutions, and expressed their approbation of the proceedings of the Congress in the warmest manner. In New Hampshire, the resolutions and petitions of the Congress were unanimously approved of; and the concurrence of their Legislature was thus made known to their agents in London: "We in this Province have not been so boisterous and irregular as some others, not because we are insensible of our distresses, but because we thought the present mode most likely to obtain relief."

The first day of November, "the great, the important day," when the Stamp Act was to take effect, at length approached. In Boston its dawn was ushered in by the tolling of bells as for a funeral. Many of the shops and stores were shut. Effigies of the men who supported the Act were paraded about the streets, and carried to a gallows erected on Boston Neck, where after being suspended for some time, they were cut down and torn to pieces, amid the shouts and acclamations of thousands.

At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, similar proceedings took place. Publick notice was given to the *friends of liberty* to attend *her funeral*—For this pur-

pose a coffin had been prepared, upon which was inscribed in large letters, LIBERTY. This was attended to the grave prepared for it, by a numerous concourse of people, and minute guns were fired during the whole time of the procession. At the place of interment an oration was pronounced, in which it was hinted that the *deceased* might possibly *revive*—the coffin was again taken up, the word REVIVED added to the former inscription, and the tone of the bells was instantly changed to a merry peal.

In New York and Philadelphia, the merchants assembled and entered into solemn compact not to import any goods from the Mother Country during the existence of the Stamp Act.

In Maryland the effigy of their Stamp master, Mr. *Hood*, was carried about from pillory to whipping post, and Mr. Hood himself was compelled to seek his safety by flying to New York.

Similar transactions took place in every Colony. The Stamp papers were every where burned or destroyed, so that it became necessary either to put a stop to all business that required them, or to carry it on without them, in open defiance of the law. The latter was preferred. Ships were entered and cleared without Stamps Lawyers, Merchants, Judges, and Justices, all united in agreeing to transact their affairs without Stamps. The *printers* continued boldly to print and circulate their newspapers without the required Stamp; and perhaps it may be said, that to the interest which *they* felt in the suppression of the Stamps, we owe many of the friends which now flocked from all quarters to the standard of our infant liberty. For by their means it was, that a regular chain of intelligence was kept up through all the Colonies.

A series of essays was published in the New York papers, some of the manuscripts of which it was supposed were sent from Boston, in which it was contended that the Colonies were no otherwise related to Great Britain than as having the same King; and a system of politicks was fast gaining ground, which but for the repeal of the Stamp Act, would have added ten years to the age of our independent *nation*.

Associations had been formed in all the Colonies under the title of *Sons of Liberty*, composed of some of the most respectable and estimable of their citizens. That association in New-York held a meeting on the 7th November, at which it was determined that they would risk their lives and fortunes to prevent the Stamp Act. Notice of this being sent to the Sons of Liberty in Connecticut, an union of the two associations was soon after agreed upon, and a formal instrument of writing drawn and signed—in which, after denouncing the Stamp Act, as a flagrant outrage on the British Constitution, they most solemnly pledged themselves to march with their whole force whenever required at their own proper cost and expense, to the relief of all who should be in danger from the Stamp Act or its abettors—to be vigilant in watching for the introduction of Stamped paper, to consider all who are caught in introducing it as betrayers of their country, and to bring them if possible to condign punishment, whatever may be their rank—to *defend the liberty of the Press* in their respective Colonies from all violations or impediments on account of the said Act—to save all judges, attornies, clerks and others from fines, penalties, or any molestation whatever, who shall proceed in their respective duties without regard to the Stamp Act.—And lastly, they pledged themselves to

use their utmost endeavours to bring about a similar union with all the Colonies on the Continent.

In pursuance of this plan circular letters were addressed to the *Sons of Liberty* in Boston, New Hampshire, and as far as South Carolina. The proposal was received with enthusiasm in most parts of the Colonies; and from this association sprung the grand scheme of a continental alliance. And this alliance shows in a striking manner, how dependent upon accidental causes are sometimes the origin and establishment of Kingdoms, States, and Empires—how a sense of common danger will bring about an event, which all the skill and foresight of the Politician, with all his learned theory of checks and balances would be unable to accomplish.

But these associations for the mutual defence and protection of those, who were determined to oppose the usurped authority of the British Parliament, were not the only associations whose consequences were likely to be severely felt by the British government. Societies were formed in all the Colonies, including *females*, as well as males, of the highest rank and fashion, who resolved to forego all the luxuries of life sooner than be indebted for them to the commerce of England, under the restrictions imposed upon it by Parliament. These Societies denied themselves the use of any foreign articles of clothing—carding, spinning, and weaving, became the daily employment of ladies of fashion—Sheep were forbidden to be used as food, lest there should not be found a sufficient supply of wool; and to be dressed in a suit of homespun was to possess the surest means of popular distinction. And so true were these patriotick societies to their mutual compact, that the British merchants and

manufacturers soon began to feel the necessity of uniting with the Colonies in petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the obnoxious law. Artificers and manufacturers in England were left without employment, and thrown upon the charities of the publick; for even at that early day this class of people were, in a great measure, dependent on the Colonial consumption for their support. The warehouses of the merchants were, for the same reasons, filled with unsaleable goods and the table of the Minister was soon loaded with petitions and remonstrances from all the large towns in the Kingdom.

In the mean time a serious disagreement had taken place between the King and his Ministers, some of whom had proved more refractory on several occasions, than his Majesty was disposed to submit to, and it was resolved that they should be discarded. But in order to form another Administration, it was necessary to make overtures either to Mr. Pitt or the Duke of Newcastle, who were at the head of the two Opposition parties. With a view to sound Mr. Pitt and his friends, the duke of Cumberland early in the year 1765, waited upon Lord Temple and his brother-in-law, by his Majesty's command, and requested to know *upon what conditions*, his Lordship, Mr. Pitt, and their friends, would be willing to engage in his Majesty's service. Mr. Pitt immediately, and with some warmth, replied that he was ready to go to St. James's *provided he could carry the Constitution along with him.*

This was not the sort of reply, however, which his Majesty looked for, and the conference ended without an arrangement—very much to the satisfaction of Mr. Grenville, who, being now acquainted with the design

of his Majesty to get rid of him, and trusting to the difficulty of his forming any other Cabinet, broke out into open hostility with the Court, and insisted upon the dismission of all the King's friends.

This conduct on the part of Mr. Grenville, in all which he was aided and supported by the Duke of Bedford, determined his Majesty to make a second effort of reconciliation with Mr. Pitt; and for this purpose he and Lord Temple were commanded to wait upon the King on the 25th of June. This second effort, however, ended with no better success than the first—Mr. Pitt and his brother still insisting upon a total change of men and measures, and the King with equal pertinacity refusing to discharge *his friends.*

His Majesty was now compelled, as a last resort, to open a negociation with the duke of Newcastle, through the mediation of the Duke of Cumberland, in which his royal highness was successful. By the arrangement now made, the old Duke of Newcastle chose for himself the sinecure of Lord Privy Seal—The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the Treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell, a man of inflexible integrity, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Winchester took the place of the Duke of Bedford as President of the Council, and the Seals were given to the young Duke of Grafton, and General Conway, who had so nobly espoused the cause of the Colonies, on the motion to tax them. The other places remained as they were.

The Parliament was convened on the 14th of January 1766, and the speech of his Majesty to the two houses clearly evinced the different principles of the men who now formed his Cabinet, from those of his former Ministers. He declared in this speech "his

firm confidence in the wisdom and zeal of Parliament, which would, he doubted not, guide them to such sound and prudent resolutions, as might tend at once to preserve the *constitutional rights* of the British Legislature over the Colonies; and to restore to them that harmony and tranquillity which have lately been interrupted by *disorders of the most dangerous nature.* He said, he had nothing at heart but the assertion of *legal authority,* the preservation of the *liberties of all his subjects,* the equity and good order of his government, and the concord and prosperity of all parts of his dominions."

On the motion for an Address to the King, the sentiments of the House on the measures of the late Administration, and particularly on the Stamp Act, were given boldly and freely. Mr. Pitt, that unrivalled Statesman and incorruptible patriot, that friend of liberty and of equal rights, was the first to offer his sentiments on the state of affairs. He began by pronouncing every measure of the *late* Ministers wrong, and honestly professing his want of confidence in the *present* Ministers. He acknowledged them to be men of fair characters and of Whig principles, but he was afraid he could discover some traces of an overruling *influence.* "It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, (said he,) since I have attended in Parliament: when the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. *It is my opinion, that this Kingdom has* NO RIGHT *to lay a tax upon the Colonies.* At the same time, I assert the authority of

this Kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislature whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. The concurrence of the Peers and of the Crown is necessary only as a form of law. This House represents the Commons of Great Britain. When in this House we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own, but *can we give and grant the property of the Commons of America?* It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the Colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know *by whom?* The idea of *virtual representation* is the *most contemptible* that ever entered into the head of man: it does not deserve a serious refutation. The Commons in America, represented in their several Assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this Kingdom has ever professed the power of legislative and commercial control. The Colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*"

A profound silence of some minutes succeeded this speech of Mr. Pitt. No one appeared inclined to take the part of the late Ministers, or to rouse the lion which lay basking in the eye of the great Commoner who had just sat down. At length Mr. Grenville himself, the obstinate author of all the mischief, that then so loudly threatened the peace and prosperity of

the whole Empire, rose in defence of the measures of his administration. He said, that the tumults in America bordered on open rebellion; and that if the doctrine promulgated that day were confirmed, he feared they would lose this name to take that of *revolution.* He said, that taxation was a branch of the sovereign power, which had been frequently exercised over those who were never represented, and instanced the East India Company, the Palatinate of Chester, and some others. He asserted, that no one had questioned the *right,* when he proposed to tax America. (In this, however, Mr. Grenville was mistaken, for General Conway, now Secretary, had expressly denied the right, on that occasion.) "Protection and obedience (said he) are reciprocal; Great Britain protects America, America is therefore bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me, when were the Americans emancipated? The seditious spirit of the Colonies *owes its birth to the factions in this House.* We were told we trod on tender ground, we were bid to expect disobedience: what is this but telling America to stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support here? *Ungrateful people of America!* The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favour the Act of Navigation, that palladium of the British commerce, has been relaxed: and now that they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the publick expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into *open rebellion.*"

Thus weak and laboured was Mr. Grenville's vindication of himself and his measures. His whole speech was but a repetition of what had been urged

by Mr. Charles Townsend on a former occasion, and of what had been so ably refuted by Colonel Barré. The truth is that Mr. Grenville though an *honest* man, and industrious in all that concerned the details of business, was weak, conceited and prejudiced. Too impatient of contradiction to look at both sides of a question, he persisted in errour, until he was too deeply enveloped in the obscurity of his own reasoning to see the truth when it was presented to him. He had persuaded himself that the Parliament had a right to tax the Colonies, and he knew that a revenue thus derived would relieve the people *at home* from the pressure of a heavy burden; but he forgot that the people of the Colonies formed an integral part of the nation, and that in proportion as he made them suffer, he brought distress upon the whole. His policy was too short-sighted to perceive the consequences of the *reaction* that must necessarily take place.

Mr. Grenville had scarcely taken his seat, when Mr. Pitt again rose to reply—but the rules of the House forbidding him to speak twice on the same motion, he was called to Order, and was reseating himself in obedience to the call, his countenance bearing the strong and varied emotions of indignation, resentment, and contempt, when the loud and repeated cry of 'Go on' induced him once more to take the floor. He thus addressed himself to the Speaker—"Sir, a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this House, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this *unhappy Act*, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have

profited. *He ought to have desisted from his project.* We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted;* three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and Acts of Parliament, *with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears* to defend the cause of liberty; [alluding to Mr. Grenville's having read several statutes in the course of his speech, as precedents for taxation without representation] but for the defence of liberty upon a general, constitutional principle—it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law:—but what after all do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that under the most arbitrary reigns, Parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by Parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this Kingdom not represented in Parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as Englishmen within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom is necessarily included in the general system of representation. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. The honourable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America—Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this Kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I maintain that Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain

America. Our legislative power over the Colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there *is* a plain distinction, between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honourable gentleman, 'were the Colonies emancipated?' At what time, say I in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the Colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valour of your troops—I know the skill of your officers—I know the force of this country; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man: *she would embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Constitution with her.* Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged—they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No: let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the Colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. The system of policy I would earnestly exhort Great Britain to adopt, in relation to America, is happily expressed in the words of a favourite poet:

"Be to her faults a little blind,
Be to her virtues very kind;
Let all her ways be unconfin'd,
And clap your padlock on her mind."

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House in a few words what is really my opinion. It is, *That the Stamp Act be repealed* ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY, and IMMEDIATELY."

After the debate on the motion for an Address was concluded, Mr. Grenville made an unsuccessful motion that the Stamp Act *should be enforced*—a majority of 140 rising against him. This division sufficiently showed the temper of the House; and the refusal to enforce the law was hailed as a happy indication that the Ministry intended its repeal. Numerous papers relative to American affairs had been, by his Majesty's orders, laid before Parliament at the opening of the session, and the reading of them now occupied the whole of their time. The petition from the Congress at New-York was not allowed to be read, the Parliament having denied their authority to assemble for the purpose alleged. Various other petitions however, as well from the Colonies as from the manufacturing and trading interests of the Kingdom, all tending to the same point, received due and patient attention. In the course of this inquiry on American affairs, Doctor Franklin, whose political integrity and moral worth were alike duly estimated by the people of England, was called to the Bar of the House, and freely questioned upon many important topicks. The answers which he gave fully comfirmed the new Ministers in the propriety and expediency of their intention to move for a repeal of the Stamp Act; and a Bill for that purpose was on the 22d of February

brought in by General Conway, the same who had so boldly denied the right of Parliament to impose it in the first instance.

The debate on this motion lasted until 3 o'clock in the morning, and never was there a debate which excited more warmth of interest, or more vehemence of opposition. The lobbies of the House were crowded with the manufacturers and traders of the Kingdom, whose anxious countenances plainly showed that their fates hung upon the issue. A division at length being called for, 275 rose in support of the motion, and 167 against it—thus was the misery of the nation for a while averted, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, (to use the language of Mr. Burke) in the teeth of all the old mercenary *Swiss* of the state, and in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of Court.

So ungovernable were the transports of the people, on hearing this vote of the House, and so firmly were they impressed with the conviction that they owed their deliverance to Mr. Pitt, that their gratitude knew no bounds; and when he appeared at the door, (as the eloquent writer, just quoted, has told us) "they jumped upon him, like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All *England* joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible of the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest."

In the House of Peers, the opposition to the Bill, was more obstinate than it had been in the other House. Lord Bute took upon himself to declare that it was *not the wish of his Majesty*, that the law should be re-

pealed. Some of the noble Dukes, and the whole *Bench of Bishops*, were for forcing the Americans to submit, with fire and sword. The Bill was nobly supported by Lord Camden, the Marquis of Rockingham, and some others. Lord Camden declared, that the inseparability of taxation and representation was a position founded on the laws of nature—that it was in fact itself an eternal law of nature—that no man had a right to take another's property from him without his consent. "Whoever attempts to do it (said the noble lord) attempts an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery."

In consequence of Lord Bute's declaration, his Majesty was waited upon, and requested to impart his wishes to the noble Lords. His reply showed, that however he might have seemed to yield to the plans of his new Ministers, his old *favourite* had but too well interpreted his secret feelings, when he averred that the repeal of the Act was contrary to his Majesty's wishes. He did not desire, he said, that it should be enforced, *unless it could be done without bloodshed.*

Opposition being at length wearied out—the Lords and the Bishops having both entered their *protests*—and a sort of compromise having been made by a *Declaratory Act asserting the power and right of Great Britain to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever*—the vote was taken on the 18th of March, and the repeal carried by a majority of 34.—105 having voted for it, and 71 against it. His Majesty appeared in the House on the following day, and gave his assent.

The great joy which this event occasioned, was manifested in London by splendid illuminations, and by decorating all the ships in the Thames with flags. In America, the intelligence was received with accla-

mations of the most sincere and heartfelt gratitude by all classes of people. Publick thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches. The resolutions which had been passed on the subject of importations, were rescinded, and their trade with the Mother Country was immediately renewed, with increased vigour. The homespun dresses of our fathers and mothers were given to the poor, and once more they appeared clad in the produce of foreign looms.

When the Act repealing the Stamp Act was transmitted to America, General Conway, the Secretary, accompanied it with a circular letter to the several Governours, in which he most affectionately endeavoured to appease the discontents of the people, while he at the same time firmly insisted upon a proper reverence for the Government. When the Governour of Virginia communicated this to the House of Burgesses, they unanimously voted a *statue to the King*—The Assembly of Massachusetts, with more discrimination, voted a letter of thanks, where thanks were more due—to the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Pitt.

In addition, however, to the circular letters to the several Governours, General Conway wrote a separate and distinct letter to Governour Bernard of Massachusetts—in which he says: "Nothing will tend more effectually to every conciliating purpose, and there is nothing therefore I have in command more earnestly to require of you, than that you should exert yourself in *recommending* it strongly to the Assembly, that full and ample compensation be made to those who, from the madness of the people, have suffered for their acts of deference to the British Legislature." This was certainly a strange and extraordinary ground to be taken by the Minister—his intentions were evidently of the

purest nature—he was desirous of maintaining the honour of the King and the Government; but it was certainly neither politick nor conciliatory, to make this demand for reparation, for violences so lately committed against the authority of that very government, and of the people who committed them, because they denied that authority. By repealing the Stamp Act, the cause of these violences were virtually acknowledged to be just and defensible, and the people against whom the outrages were committed were in like manner acknowledged to have deserved them, at least from those by whom they were committed. If any reparation then was thought necessary, it should have proceeded from the government in whose favour the outraged individuals stood forth, and not from the government under whose sanction the outrage was done—in as much as that government had been declared to be *right*, in the very instrument which called upon it to repair a wrong. And it was, undoubtedly, the intention of the Secretary, that the act of reparation should appear to come as a voluntary offering from the Legislature of Massachusetts, and not as an act of obedience to the authority of the King. His letter to the Governour was evidently intended to be private and confidential, and if the same spirit of cordial reconciliation had actuated the Governour, that it was manifest animated the Minister, it would have been in his power to have succeeded in persuading the Legislature to adopt his *recommendation*. But Governour Bernard was, unfortunately, too much a friend to the political pandemonium of Carleton House, to move an inch towards reciprocal concession with the Colonies, or to obtain that by persuasion, which he thought it in his power to force from them by coercion. In his speech there-

fore at the opening of the General Court in Massachusetts in June 1766, he assumed a tone of haughtiness and reproach, very different from the temper of the letter under the authority of which he acted.

He said that the *justice* and *humanity* of the requisition were so forcible they could not be controverted, and that the *authority* from which it came ought to preclude all doubts about complying with it. He added, "both the business and the time are most critical—let me entreat you to recollect yourselves, and to consider well what you are about—Shall the private interests, passions, or resentments of a few men, deprive the whole people of the great and manifold advantages which the *favour and indulgence of their King and his* Parliament are now preparing for them? Surely, after *his Majesty's commands* are known, the very persons who have created the prejudices and prepossessions I now endeavour to combat, will be the first to remove them."

This was surely the most improper time which his Excellency could have fixed upon, and the most exceptionable style which he could have chosen, to enforce the recommendation of the Secretary. He should have waited until some of the citizens who had suffered by the outrages of the populace—mob, it could not be called, for the multitude who joined in the violent expressions of their resistance to the law, embraced the first men of the town—he should have waited, we say, until some of these sufferers petitioned for reparation—or he should have procured them to petition, by promises of redress. It would then have been time enough, if he saw a disposition in the General Court to withhold relief, to have recommended their compliance, as an acceptable act of loyalty to

his Majesty. It could never have been the intention of his Majesty to *command* the General Court to open the purse of the Colony, so soon after it had been legally put beyond his authority, by a formal repeal of the previous tax upon it. Nor could Mr. Secretary Conway have contemplated such an use as the Governour chose to make of his separate Despatch.

The General Court as well as the whole people of the Province, were at this time well disposed to listen to *conciliatory* language from the Government or any of its agents. But they were too tremblingly alive to their own rights, and too conscious of their own strength, to be *drilled* into a measure which implied a want of faith in the integrity of their hearts or understandings. They therefore in their reply to the Governour's speech, address him in a tone at once indignant and sarcastick. They tell him that he has exceeded the authority given to him in the letter, and plainly hint that he is acting as the tool of some *higher* power. "If this recommendation (said they), which your Excellency terms a *requisition*, be founded on so much justice and humanity that it cannot be controverted—if the *authority* with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about complying with it; we should be glad to know what freedom we have in the case.—With regard to the rest of your Excellency's speech, (they continue) we are constrained to observe, that the general air and style of it savour much more of an *act of free grace and pardon*, than of a *parliamentary address to the two Houses of Assembly;* and we most sincerely wish your Excellency had been pleased to reserve it, *if needful*, for a proclamation."

The government of Great Britain could not have found an agent less qualified to foster and preserve a spirit of reconciliation in the Colonies, than his Excellency Governour Bernard. He was haughty, morose and tyrannical, and seemed to take delight in thwarting every measure of the Assembly, not proposed by his immediate friends and sub-agents.

This conduct on the part of the Governour, so far from subduing the spirits of what was called the American party, or the friends of Liberty, irritated them to more open hostility, and brought continual accessions to their numbers. The town of Boston was at this time represented by *James Otis* jun. *Thomas Cushing*, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*—men whose subsequent conduct proved, that they were not to be *driven* into any surrender of privilege. It was in the power of the Governour to have made them all fast friends of the King—but, happily for the independence of our country, he chose by every petty act of opposition to their patriotick views, to alienate their respect and affection, and confirm them in the glorious title of champions of freedom. At the meeting of the Assembly, Mr. Otis was chosen Speaker, but the Governour refused to confirm the choice—and thus, instead of paving the way, by a mere act of courtesy, for the gracious reception of his speech, aroused that spirit of animosity which dictated the reply just quoted. He in like manner refused to sanction the nomination of the Council, because the Crown officers had been left out. Hitherto the influence of the Governour over the Assembly had been greatly assisted by the *secrecy* with which the debates of that House had been carried on. He and his friends might promise or threaten, without fear of restraint from pub-

lick indignation. But the friends of liberty were now so numerous in the House, that their doors were thrown open and a gallery ordered to be erected for the accommodation of their fellow-citizens. From this moment the Court party began to decline, and the cause of the *people* to acquire additional defenders.

In the course of the Session, an Act was passed granting compensation to the sufferers in the late riots, the principal of whom was his honour the Lieutenant Governour. But this act was accompanied by a declaration that it was a free gift of the Province, and not an acknowledgment of the justice of their claim. By the same act also a full pardon was extended to the rioters—two circumstances which gave a character to the act by no means acceptable to his Majesty.

In New York likewise there was a similar spirit of half-way accommodation manifested. The Legislature by a voluntary act, granted compensation to those who had suffered a loss of property in their adherence to the Stamp Act. But they refused to carry into execution the Act of Parliament for quartering his Majesty's troops upon them.

The people of Connecticut too, though they heartily partook of the general rejoicings at the repeal of the Stamp Act, showed by their election of a new Governour that they were not disposed to forgive their former one for his acquiescence in the requisitions of that odious Act.

CHAPTER V.

Repeal of the Stamp Act produces but a short calm—transactions in England—Mr. Pitt taken into the Ministry—the strange mixture in his administration—Mr. Townsend made Chancellor of the Exchequer—Mr. Pitt accepts the title and dignities of Earl of Chatham—Mr. Grenville's Prohibitory Act against New-York—its effects upon the other Colonies—arrival of British troops in Boston—consequences thereof.—Mr. Townsend's plan for taxing the Colonies.—Effects of his measures upon the Americans.—Death of Mr. Townsend, and appointment of Lord North.—Lord Chatham resigns, and is succeeded by the Earl of Bristol.—Lord Hillsborough made Secretary of State for the Colonies.—Resolutions of Boston town meetings.—Circular Letter of the Massachusetts Assembly.—The Farmer's Letters.—Governour Bernard dissolves the Legislature—effects of this violence.—Seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop—riot in consequence thereof.—Board of Trade remove from Boston—Meeting at Faneuil Hall.—Arrival of a British Squadron and two Regiments at Boston.—The Governour quarters them in Faneuil Hall.—Resolutions of the merchants.—Letter of the Philadelphia merchants to their agents in London.—Revival of the Statute of Henry VIII.—Resolutions of the Virginia House of Burgesses—the Governour dissolves them.—Other Assemblies also dissolved.—Conduct of Governour Bernard—his recall—and character.—Different conduct of Governour Bottetourt—Lord Hillsborough's Circular.—Sentiments of the Philadelphia merchants on his conciliatory proposition.

THE universal joy which pervaded all ranks of people in America, as well as in England, on the repeal of the Stamp Act, was but of short continuance. In the first warmth of their transports, they had seemed to forget that Great Britain had, in fact, yielded nothing, or scarcely any thing, in the mere repeal of the Stamp Act, so long as they continued to maintain the *right* of Parliament to tax them. This right they ei-

ther regarded as a question that would never again come into discussion, or they considered the concession now made to them as such an acknowledgment of their power and influence, that they did not fear any serious evil from its exercise.

But they were not long suffered to labour under this delusion. The measures with regard to the Colonies, which followed close upon the heels of the Act of Repeal, showed that the Ministry were determined to punish them for former disobedience, and coerce them to future submission.—So that before the close of the year 1766, the gloom of despondency had again taken possession of the faces so lately brightened with happy anticipations of the time to come. In every Colony, something occurred to mark the return of discontent. Besides the progress of this feeling already noted in Massachusetts, Connecticut and New-York, the General Assembly of Virginia who had in their Spring Session voted a statue to the King, and an obelisk to several of the members of Parliament, in December of this year, postponed the final consideration of the resolution until the next session—which amounted in fact to a strong expression of their altered feelings. But we must exculpate the Marquis of Rockingham and his Administration, from any share in the scheme of oppression which we are now to develope.

Lord Rockingham had discovered, in the course of the debate in the House of Peers on the repeal of the Stamp Act, that his Majesty had not given his confidence to the Ministry of which he was the head, and that he was still under the influence of his favourite, Lord Bute. As a mean of putting a stop to the corrupting progress of this influence, he conceived the idea of uniting Mr. Pitt and the Whig party out of ser-

vice, with the Whigs who were now in the Ministry, and for this purpose held a conference with Mr. Pitt. But this extraordinary man, who continued to feel the same scorn of the Marquis and his party, which he had so intemperately expressed, on their first coming into the Ministry upon terms that he thought derogatory to the honour of the Whigs, received his advances with great coldness. Indeed he made some remark almost at the beginning of the conference, which the Marquis construed to imply the necessity of his own removal from the Treasury, and the attempt at union of course failed.

Lord Bute, with a view to get rid of Lord Rockingham and his Administration altogether, had made similar advances to Lord Temple; but with no better success. That nobleman was too honest to lend himself to the corruptions of Lord Bute, even though his brother formed one of the junto.

The secret advisers of Carlton House had in the mean time determined upon a change; and Mr. Pitt was once more ordered to wait upon the King. The meeting took place on the 12th of July 1766, and his Majesty opened the negotiation by telling Mr. Pitt that he should put himself altogether into his hands, without proposing any terms.—This was precisely the point to which, six months before, the Americans, if they could have had their choice, would have desired affairs to be brought. And the friends of the Colonies had certainly every thing to hope, from the character and former conduct of Mr. Pitt.

The first thing which Mr. Pitt did after his audience with the King was to send for his Noble brother-in-law—to tell him of the plenary powers with which his Majesty had invested him, and to request his Lord-

ship to take the head of the Treasury. If he had stopped here, Lord Temple would perhaps have felt no scruples in accepting the place offered to him—but he presented at the same time a list of names for all the other great departments of the government, which, besides that it excluded all his Lordship's connexions, too plainly indicated that he was not to come in upon a footing of perfect equality with Mr. Pitt, or the latter would have consulted him in those nominations; and upon no other terms would the pride of his Lordship permit him to come in.

Lord Temple said, that he was extremely desirous of conciliating all parties, but that he could not so far forget what was due to his own honour, as to consent either to exclude all his friends, or to look upon Mr. Pitt as *absolute master*.—Mr. Pitt, however, was not to be shaken from his purpose. No man loved or esteemed Lord Temple more than he did, but that esteem did not extend to his Lordship's family. He despised Mr. Grenville, and dreaded the consequence which his influence might have over his Lordship in the new arrangement.—Lord Temple withdrew therefore, highly irritated and offended; and Mr. Pitt went on to complete his new scheme of a Ministry without him.

The Duke of Grafton was appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and the Right Honourable Charles Townsend was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was at the motion of this latter gentleman, that the Act had passed some time before for quartering his Majesty's troops on the people of New York. He was considered as a man of brilliant talents, but of no solidity—capricious, insincere, and full of intrigue. Why Mr. Pitt should have made choice of him for so responsible a station, it is difficult to explain.

General Conway was continued in his post of Secretary for the Northern Department, and Lord Shelburne succeeded the Duke of Richmond, for the Southern. Lord Camden was made Chancellor of Great Britain, and the Earl of Northington, President of the Council.

Mr. Pitt, who had some years before proudly refused the offered honours of the Peerage, and boasted that he was *one of the people*, now accepted the title and dignities of Earl of Chatham—thus taking leave of the great theatre of his early glories and deathless renown as a Statesman, to take a seat among the Peers of the Realm. The place which he chose for himself in the new Ministry was that of Lord Privy Seal.

Thus was Lord Rockingham and his friends put out of service, after having been in only about a year; and thus did Mr. Pitt use the unlimited power put into his hands, in the formation of the new Ministry. The former retired from office with the deserved approbation of the whole Kingdom—the latter came into it (it may almost be said) with universal reprobation. His acceptance of the Peerage—his ambition to be the sole dictator in the new arrangements—his abandonment of Lord Temple—and the injudicious selection which he had made for some of the offices, excited a popular clamour against him, and destroyed that confidence which the people had never ceased to repose in the *great Commoner*.—While addresses, and letters of thanks, were addressed to the Marquis of Rockingham from every part of Great Britain, the Earl of Chatham was charged by the same people with having deserted their cause. This however was doing injustice to the motives of Lord Chatham—his policy was not changed by his transfer to the House of Peers; but he had soon reason to regret

that selfish ambition, which had impelled him to lean so exclusively upon his own judgment in the choice of his colleagues in the Ministry. He had lost his popularity, and what affected him still more nearly, he had lost the friendship of Lord Temple, with whom he had lived for so many years in the closest bonds of fraternal intimacy and mutual confidence. He saw strong parties of opposition daily rising up against him; he found that the Ministers, who had come in by his appointment and whom therefore he had expected to control at will, acted for themselves and without his concurrence, and before the meeting of Parliament he found himself compelled to enter into a sort of coalition with men whom he had once openly accused of every species of corruption, and whom he even now most heartily despised.

These were circumstances well calculated to make a deep impression upon such a mind as that of Lord Chatham. He was indeed so sensibly affected by them, that his health began visibly to decline. About this period, the situation of his Lordship is thus depicted by the eccentrick General Lee, in one of his letters to the King of Poland:—"I am apt to agree with the majority of the better sort, that 'this once noble mind is quite overthrown.' Can it be reconciled to reason, that the same man who rendered his name so illustrious, *so tremendous*, should split upon ribbands and titles? By *sinking into a peerage*, his popularity would vanish of course. I recollect your Majesty was of the same way of thinking, that there was nothing very monstrous in his acceptance of a peerage, but that it argued a *senselessness* of glory to forfeit the name of PITT for any title the King could

bestow. He has fits of crying, starting, and every effect of hysterics—"

One of the first acts of the new Parliament, in the succeeding year, 1767, was founded upon the intelligence received from New York, that the Assembly had refused to take measures to carry into effect, the Act for providing for his Majesty's troops, which had been quartered upon the people of that province. A Bill was introduced by Mr Grenville, the old and steady opposer of American freedom, the object of which was to restrain the Assembly and Council of New York from passing any Act, until they had complied with the requisitions of the Act just mentioned. This Bill received the countenance and support of the Ministers, who regarded it as a measure at once dignified and forbearing, and it was finally passed. The Legislature of New York were frightened into immediate compliance; but it produced a different effect in the other Colonies. They saw in it a bold and daring attack upon their chartered privileges—if the Parliament of England felt so little scruple in abolishing the legislative power of a Colony, they might with equal indifference attack some other right guarantied to them by their Charter, and in the end adopt the advice which had been once given by Governour Bernard, and abolish the Charter itself.

The uneasiness occasioned by this prohibitory Act was, indeed, particularly in Massachusetts, little less than that produced by the Stamp Act; and their fears were still further increased soon afterwards by the arrival of a body of *British troops* in Boston, which were falsely and hypocritically said to have been driven in by stress of weather. They arrived during the recess of the Legislature, and the Governour and his

Council undertook to provide for their support out of the publick treasury. The conduct of the troops themselves was by no means calculated to appease the people—on the contrary it tended to confirm their suspicions, that the alleged cause of their coming into Boston was an insidious fabrication. When the Legislature met they remonstrated, in their usual firmness and dignity of manner, against the appropriations of the publick money by the Governour: and the Governour, with his usual virulence and meanness, wrote an exaggerated account of the affair to the Ministers at home.

These measures were speedily followed by others, of a character still more odious to the people of the Colonies. Mr. Charles Townsend had, in the early part of the session, asserted that he could furnish a plan for drawing a revenue from the Colonies without giving them offence. This extraordinary declaration gave so much delight to Mr. Grenville, and was yet regarded by him as so problematical, that he insisted upon Mr. Townsend's giving a *pledge* to that effect, which this young boaster did not hesitate to do. The venerable General Conway listened to the *bargain* between these two vain and conceited Statesmen, this *par nobile fratrum*, in silence and amazement. Little indeed could that liberal and enlightened Minister credit the possibility of, in any manner, taxing America, without rousing the indignation of her spirited citizens.

Some time in June, Mr. Townsend was called upon to redeem his pledge, and in pursuance thereof he applied for leave to bring in a Bill imposing duties on glass, painters' colours, *tea*, and paper, imported into the Colonies. To this another was added, intended to

ensure the execution of the first, authorising his Majesty to appoint a Board of Trade to reside in the Colonies, and to give them such orders and instructions as to the mode of carrying the law into effect, *as he might think proper* from time to time. Besides these two Bills, there was still another introduced, to try the temper of the Colonies; namely, a Bill to establish a Board of Admiralty, to be independent of all Colonial regulations, but *to be paid from Colonial revenues*,—this Bill also settled salaries upon the Governours, Judges, and the host of Crown officers that were to be sent from the *Ministerial stews* to fatten upon the oppressions of the Colonists growing out of these several schemes of finance.

These were the *unoffensive* schemes which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pledged himself to produce for raising a revenue in America. And it seems they were well received by the Parliament, for they passed almost without opposition, *two* members only having risen to oppose that part of the scheme which contemplated the establishment of a *civil list independent of the people*. These two members were Mr. Jackson and Mr. Huske: but their voices were too feeble to still the promptings of Ministerial ambition. The several Bills received the royal assent on the 2d of July.

The effect which these transactions produced in America may be readily conceived. The people of New York and Boston, already irritated to madness by the overbearing and insolent conduct of the British soldiery, now saw all their hopes of accommodation blasted. The new duties were, in themselves, of trifling consideration, and would no doubt have been cheerfully paid by the Americans, if they had been

imposed at a more auspicious time and season. The Colonies had, indeed, never denied the right of Parliament to control their commercial regulations; and the imposition of these duties could be regarded in no other light than as a regulation of commerce. It placed them therefore in an embarrassing situation. Having once acknowledged the inherent power of Great Britain to impose port duties, and having heretofore paid them upon several articles of foreign produce, they could not consistently deny that the same power still existed. On the other hand they saw, that the present *object* of Great Britain, was widely different from that which had led to the imposition of the former duties—and that an acquiescence in the present insidious scheme of taxation would only lead to further and still more oppressive measures on the part of the Ministry. The Board of Trade, established at Boston, which under other circumstances would have been regarded as affording facilities to their trade, was now looked upon only as an engine put into operation for the purpose of more effectually securing submission to the new restrictions, and the members of that body were treated with insult and indignities, wherever they appeared.

The Americans looked with astonishment at such a system of policy proceeding from a Ministry of which Lord Chatham was the head. They found it impossible to reconcile the artifice now practised upon them, with their ideas of his Lordship's character.—They had heretofore regarded him as a friend in whose honest and liberal principles they might securely trust the management of all that concerned the Colonies: but here was a melancholy evidence before their eyes of the insincerity of Ministerial professions. If such

is the treatment which we are to receive from those who profess to be our friends, said they, what misery and oppression may we not expect, when the power shall fall into the hands of our open and avowed enemies.—But in justice to the character of Lord Chatham it must be observed, that he was not in Parliament during any part of the time that these measures of Mr. Townsend were under discussion. The state of his health was such as not only to detain him from his seat in the House, but to render him incapable of attending to any of the duties of his high station. And it will be seen hereafter, that though he was at the head of the Administration, his opinion weighed but little with the men whom he had raised to power along with him.

The Right Honourable Mr. Charles Townsend, from whom all the troubles and commotions, that were now rapidly spreading through the Colonies, originated, did not live to witness their effects. He died in September 1767, and was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Frederick Lord North, a young nobleman who was then but little known in the political world, but who will be found to make a conspicuous figure in the sequel of this history. Very soon afterwards Lord Chatham, disgusted with the corrupt influence which manifested itself in every act of the Court, and sick of the political world, resigned the Privy Seal, which was immediately put into the hands of the Earl of Bristol. It was thought necessary about the same time, to create a new Office—that of *Secretary of State for the Colonies*—which was given to Lord Hillsborough, a circumstance which seemed to show that they were becoming a more important object of consideration than heretofore in the eyes of the Cabinet.

In the mean time the Colonies were adopting all the peaceable means in their power, to show their sense of the wrongs heaped upon them, in the several laws lately passed, which like the ghosts of Banquo's posterity successively appeared to blast their prospects of happiness. Petitions, memorials, and remonstrances to the King and Parliament, and letters to the individual friends of America, were addressed from all the legislatures; but the most favourable reply which any of them received was an exhortation to suffer with patience and in silence. To suffer tamely and without seeking redress, however, was not the character of the sturdy sons of freedom who then peopled the Colonies. They entered into the same kind of resolutions of non-importation whose effects had been so severely felt by the traders in England, under the Stamp Act. Boston, as before, was the first to take the lead. At a town meeting held in October it was voted that measures should be immediately taken to promote the establishment of domestick manufactories, by encouraging the consumption of all articles of American manufacture. They also agreed to purchase no articles of foreign growth or manufacture, but such as were absolutely indispensable. Mr. *Otis* endeavoured to combat the passage of these resolutions without effect. They were made known to the neighbouring towns and concurred in by large majorities.

New York and Philadelphia soon followed the example of Boston; and in a short time the merchants themselves entered into associations to import nothing from Great Britain but articles that necessity required.

Early in the succeeding year 1768 the Legislature of Massachusetts resolved upon addressing a *circular*

letter to the Legislatures of their sister Colonies. In this they communicate what had been done by themselves, and ask cooperation, assistance and advice as to the measures that may be further necessary to procure relief. The letter was filled with expressions of loyalty, and confidence that the King would graciously listen to the complaints of his subjects. Most of the Colonial Assemblies replied to this circular in terms of approbation, and expressed their readiness to unite as well in what had been done, as in whatever might be further proposed for their common security and welfare.

This spirit of *union* among the Colonies was greatly animated and encouraged by a series of Essays in a Philadelphia paper, under the title of "Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies." In these letters, the *rights* of the Colonies were ably defended and most eloquently maintained. They were read and republished in every Colony; and so warm was the admiration which they excited in Boston, that the people of the town met and voted a letter of thanks to their patriotick, enlightened and noble spirited author, John Dickinson, Esquire—a name then, and since, dear to every American heart.

Governour Bernard lost no time in transmitting to the new Secretary for the Colonies, in his usual style of exaggeration, information of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature.—He gave his Lordship to understand, that the resolution which gave birth to the Circular letter had been obtained by *unfair* means, and that it was *contrary to the real sense of the House* —when in fact it had been carried by a large majority. His Lordship replied immediately to the Gov-

ernour's communication, and directed him to require of the Legislature, in his Majesty's name, forthwith to rescind that resolution under penalty of being dissolved. To the other Governours he addressed a note calling upon them to prevent their several Assemblies from taking any notice of the Massachusetts Circular, and ordering *them* also, in the event of their Assemblies proving refractory, to dissolve them.

Lord Hillsborough knew but little of the people over whose destinies he was set to preside, when he supposed that measures of such violence would produce a happy result. If he had recurred to the history of former years, his Lordship might have seen that he had to deal with a people proud and independent, as the people of his native island, ready to sacrifice much to persuasive kindness, but inflexible to compulsion.—When therefore, the letter of Lord Hillsborough was communicated to the Legislature of Massachusetts by their haughty and imperious Governour, they replied with a spirit and firmness worthy of the patriots of New England—that even if they were to allow themselves to be made responsible for the Acts of a *former House*, it was impossible to *rescind* a resolution which his excellency could not but know had already been carried into full effect, and now existed as an historical fact. "If, (said they,) as is most probable, by the word *rescinding* is intended the passing a vote in direct and express disapprobation of the measure taken by the former House as illegal, inflammatory, and tending to promote unjustifiable combinations against his Majesty's peace, crown and dignity, we must take the liberty to testify and publickly declare that we take it to be the native, inherent, and indefeasible right of the subject, jointly and severally,

to petition the King for the redress of grievances; provided always, that the same be done in a decent, dutiful, loyal and constitutional way, without tumult, disorder, and confusion—*If the votes of the House are to be controlled by the direction of a Minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty.*"—They conclude by informing his Excellency that they have voted *not to rescind* the resolution; and to show him that *no unfair* means were used, of which they had been more than once accused; they state that on a division of the question there were *ninety two* nays, and only *seventeen yeas.* This amounted in fact to an unanimous vote of the representatives *of the people,* as the seventeen who voted to comply with the Minister's demand, were the mere creatures of Government. The Assembly at the same time, ordered a letter to be addressed to Lord Hillsborough, in which they endeavoured to undeceive his Lordship, with regard to the *manner* in which the former resolution had been obtained.

During the debate on the motion to rescind, Mr. *Otis,* who had on many previous occasions, shown something like a disposition to submit to all the impositions of the Parliament, and who had constantly opposed any thing like resistance to their authority, openly avowed his change of opinion, and in an eloquent speech declared that it was the Parliament of Great Britain and not the Colonial Legislatures that ought to rescind their Acts.

The Governour was true to his threats, and on the day after these transactions, he appeared in the House and declared the Assembly dissolved. The Governours of the other Colonies, that had approved the proceedings of Massachusetts, in like manner dissolved

their Assemblies on their refusing to comply with the orders of Lord Hillsborough.

The effect of these violent measures was to draw closer the bonds of union among the people, and to render their resistance more stubborn and effectual. Associations not to import the articles upon which duties had been laid, became general. Committees were established in all the Colonies to guard against infringements of the rules by which their associations were bound. The people every where nobly resolved to suffer any privations rather than submit to the degradation of paying duties upon foreign articles. Once more the looms were set to work—once more it became the pride of fashion to appear in domestick apparel; and once more the delicate question of Colonial dependence and connexion, became a subject of investigation in numerous political Clubs.

Thus did the narrow and shortsighted politicians who composed the British Cabinet, while they fancied that they were reducing the Colonies to humble submission, excite them to the discussion of questions infinitely more important, than ten times the amount of revenue for which they were so pertinaciously contending. It was natural that the Colonies should be led to inquire into the nature and extent of their allegiance to the parent country—that they should be led to look at the nature and end of all government, and by seeing its necessary *limitation*, to see the necessity of limiting the Parliamentary authority over the Colonies—If our loyalty to the King must be called in question, (they argued,) whenever we refuse to surrender our chartered rights at the arbitrary command of a Ministerial tyrant—if we can neither petition for relief, nor remonstrate against oppression, when our dearest pri-

vileges are invaded, without incurring the displeasure of his Majesty, and the odious imputation of disaffection to his government—does it not become a duty which we owe to ourselves and to posterity *to resist!*

Such were the sentiments that now spread from Boston to the remotest part of the Colonies. While the irritation of the pnblick mind was at the highest in Boston, fresh fuel was added to the flame by the seizure of *Mr. Hancock's* Sloop Liberty, for the violation of the revenue laws. The popularity of the owner, who was one of the most active friends of the people, added to the abhorrence already felt for the officers of the Customs, and the whole board of Commissioners, combined to give a character of outrage to this seizure in the minds of the people, which led to an alarming riot. It is probable if the Custom House Officers had shown less suspicion of the people, no riot would have followed the seizure: but under the idea that the sloop would not be safe at the wharf under the custody of one of their officers, they had solicited aid from the ship of war which lay in the harbour, the master of which very injudiciously ordered the sloop to be cut from her fastenings and brought under the guns of his ship. It was to prevent this removal of the sloop that the mob collected—many of the Officers were severely wounded in the scuffle, and the mob being baffled in their attempts to retain the sloop at the wharf, repaired to the houses of the Collector, Comptroller, and other officers of the Customs, where they committed many acts of violence and injury to their property. This riotous disposition continued for several days, during which the Commissioners applied to the Governour for assistance, but his Excellency, not being able to protect them, advised them to remove from Bos-

ton. They did so; and retired, first on board the Romney man of war, and then to Castle William.

The Legislature which was then in session, appointed a Committee to inquire into the state of the Province, and among other things into the circumstances of this riot. After extenuating the conduct of the rioters by the enumeration of every subject of provocation, they recommended a Resolution "that though the extraordinay circumstances of the seizure may *extenuate the criminality*, yet being of a very criminal *nature*, and of dangerous consequence, the two Houses declare their utter abhorrence and detestation of them, and resolve that the Governour be desired to direct the Attorney-General to prosecute all persons concerned in the said riot, and that a proclamation be issued, offering a reward for making discovery, so as that the rioters and abettors may be brought to condign punishment." This resolution seemed to come from the Legislature as an act of policy, and not as an evidence of their desire to punish the rioters—for they well knew that no grand jury could be found to lay bills of indictment against them. The whole blame of the transaction was thrown upon the Commissioners themselves, who were formally accused by the Council, in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, of having seized the sloop with the express design of raising a disturbance. They further assured his Lordship, that the Commissioners had quitted the town without necessity, and had thus raised an unfounded imputation against the peaceable and orderly conduct of his Majesty's loyal subjects of Boston.

But the Commissioners, his Honour the Lieutenant Governour, and his Excellency the Governour all told a different story—They severally wrote to the of-

ficers commanding his Majesty's military and naval forces, and to the Ministry, representing in aggravated colours the rebellious temper of the people, and strongly urging the necessity of having regular troops in Boston to enforce obedience to the laws. The Governour, in particular, dilated largely on the factious character of his people, and declared that the civil authority was too weak and incompetent to preserve order.

In consequence of these representations, as it was falsely alleged by the Ministry, Lord Hillsborough wrote to General Gage, *two days before the seizure was made* and at least a month before he could have heard of it, to signify his Majesty's pleasure that at least one regiment should be sent to Boston to assist the magistrates in the *preservation of peace*, and the board of Commissioners in the execution of the revenue laws. Lord Hillsborough, therefore, must have foreseen the opposition which would be made to the duties, and the troops were sent not to quell the riots, but to awe the people into quiet submission—not in pursuance of the complaints of the Commissioners of trade, but in obedience to the heated suggestions of that political firebrand Governour Bernard.

As soon as the people of Boston received intelligence that the Government had it in contemplation to send an armed force into their town and harbour, a meeting was held, and a committee appointed to wait upon the Governour, and request him to convoke the Assembly. But he refused to do so under pretence that his Majesty's sanction was necessary. This reply being communicated to the town meeting, it was immediately determined, that the Select Men should be instructed to propose to all the towns of the Pro-

vince, to appoint deputies to meet in general convention at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the 22d of September. They further voted that those people who had no *arms*, should be advised forthwith to furnish themselves, as there was an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching *war with France*.

Nearly all the towns in the Province agreed to the proposal of Boston, and appointed deputies, who met at the time and place agreed upon. Their deliberations were conducted with the utmost order and decorum; they passed some resolutions evincing great moderation, and calling upon the people to suppress all riotous and disorderly attempts to evade the laws. They published a manifesto of their reasons for assembling, and of the nature of their proceedings, in which they disclaimed every thing like legislative authority, and then peaceably dissolved themselves. Mr. *Otis*, and Mr. *Samuel Adams*, were both of this convention, and both laboured without effect to introduce some more spirited Resolves—the convention being composed, for the most part, of deputies who had been sent for the very purpose of curbing the warmth of the Bostonians.

It was no doubt in consequence of the advice which the Bostonians had given to the people of the Province to provide themselves with arms, under the pretence of an expected *French war*, that the report was spread of their intending to oppose the landing of the troops—and to this report was owing the great parade with which the troops were landed. Several large ships of war, frigates, and other armed vessels were stretched across the harbour in order of bombardment, and *two* regiments, instead of one as at first contemplated, were landed under cover of their guns, with

bayonets fixed, drums beating, and every other mark of an expected battle. No opposition however, was made to them, contrary no doubt to the hopes and wishes of the Governour, the Minister, and all the enemies of American freedom, who desired nothing so much as an excuse for firing upon the inhabitants of Boston, at the present moment, that they might crush their growing spirit in its birth.

As there were not barracks for the accommodation of all the troops, the Governour was applied to by the commanding officer to furnish quarters in the town—and very imprudently, not to say unjustifiably, this Magistrate gave them possession of Faneuil Hall, the place at which all the town meetings were wont to be held, and of the Town-house, in which the General Court, the Council, and most of the town and Colonial officers had their apartments.

The Governour having thus quartered the troops, without the concurrence, and indeed against the authority, of the Council, next applied to them to furnish provisions for the soldiery, agreeably to the Act of Parliament for that purpose—but the Council resolutely refused. This refusal of the Council to submit to the requisitions of the Act of Parliament, was ascribed by his honour Mr. Hutchinson, to the influence of Mr. *James Bowdoin*, who of course received the honourable distinction of being enrolled on the list of govermental proscriptions.

The uneasiness occasioned by the mere circumstance of having troops sent to the harbour of Boston, was nothing compared to that which the people felt, at the unwarrantable license with which the Governour had given them possession of their two publick houses. The lower story of the Town-house had been used by

the merchants as an Exchange—from which they were now excluded—it was with difficulty that the citizens could even pass along the street in which this house stood—the main guard of the Regiment was stationed within a few feet of it, and the street in front was occupied by pieces of artillery *pointed at the house.* Quarrels continually occurred between the citizens and the soldiers, which sometimes ended in blood, and always increased the animosities already existing.

As the most effectual means of obtaining a redress of the grievances under which they were now labouring, the merchants of Boston proposed a general non-importation agreement, and wrote to the merchants of New York and Philadelphia to cooperate with them. They had experienced the good effects of such an agreement under the Stamp Act, and they wisely concluded that nothing but a blow at the *interests* of the English merchants and manufacturers, could induce the English Ministry to listen to their complaints. The merchants of New York readily entered into the agreement; but those of Philadelphia preferred addressing a memorial to their mercantile friends in London, with a view to obtain their mediation with the government, from whom they thought it most prudent to solicit relief before they resorted to the expedient of joining in a non-importation agreement. The merchants of Connecticut and Salem soon united with those of Boston and New York.

When the respectful memorial of the Philadelphia merchants reached their friends in London, they hastened to lay it before the proper authority, and to join in the prayer for redress; but the answer of the Ministry was, that however inexpedient they might think the Act imposing the duties complained of, yet such

had been the unjustifiable conduct of *some in America*, that they could not think of a repeal at the present juncture. The receipt of this answer at once determined the Philadelphians, and they lost no time in sending notice to the other merchants of their concurrence in the non-importation agreement. Of this they thought it advisable to give information to their correspondents in London, which they did in a letter from which the following just and sensible remarks are extracted. "It would become persons in power, say they, to consider whether even the unjustifiable behaviour of those who think themselves aggrieved, will justify a perseverance in a matter confessed to be wrong. Certain it is, that the wisdom of government is better manifested, its honour, and authority better maintained and supported, by correcting the errours it may have committed, than by persisting in them, and thereby risking the loss of the subjects' affections. We are apprehensive that persons in power are greatly abused, and that the people of America have been grossly misrepresented, otherwise the steps which they have taken to obtain redress, could never be looked upon as threats. Threats they never intended; but as all the American Colonies were equally affected, it was thought that their joint petitions would have more weight; and for this end the several assemblies communicated their sentiments to each other. This step, to the inexpressible surprise of all America, is represented as "a flagitious attempt, a measure of a most dangerous and factious tendency, &c. &c." The dissolution of Assemblies that followed, and the measures pursued to enforce the Acts in America, awakened the fears, and exasperated the minds of the people to a very great degree. They therefore determin-

ed not only to defeat the intent of the Acts, by refraining from the use of those articles on which duties were laid, but to put a stop to importations of goods from Great Britain. This is the only threat we know of and if this is sufficient to engage the Ministry to oppose a repeal of the Acts, we apprehend the Ministry must, by a change of measures, endeavour to regain the affections of the people, before they can be induced to alter their determinations.

"The Americans consider themselves as British subjects, entitled to all the rights and privileges of freemen. They think there can be no liberty without a security of property; and that there can be no property, if any can, without their consent, deprive them of the hard-earned fruits of their labour. They know that they have no choice in the election of the members of Parliament; and from their situation never can have any. Every act of Parliament therefore, that is made for raising a revenue in America, is in their opinion, depriving them of their property without their consent, and consequently is an invasion of their liberty.

"If then the acts cannot be repealed while the Ministry objects, and if to remove the objections, the Americans must give up their sentiments, we most candidly confess we have little hopes of a repeal ever taking place; much less is it to be expected, that the merchants will presume to petition Parliament on the principles of inexpediency only, when every Assembly on the Continent is applying for a repeal on the principle of *right*.

"Happy had it been for both countries if the idea of taxes in America had never been started; however, if the acts complained of are repealed, and no other of

the like nature are attempted hereafter, the present unhappy jealousies will, we believe, quickly subside, and the people of both countries, in a short time, return to their usual good humour, confidence and affection."

It is inconceivable how little the Ministry seemed to understand the true interests of the Kingdom in regard to the American Colonies. They had certainly made a sufficient number of experiments to prove to persons less blind than themselves, that the Colonies were not to be intimidated into a surrender of any of their rights or privileges—that they could neither be inveigled by artifice, nor compelled by threats, to acknowledge the right of Parliament to abridge a single liberty which their Charters were given to secure to them. And yet they persisted in every measure which could tend to alienate their affections, destroy their allegiance, and widen the breach which former attempts of a similar nature had created, and which a contrary policy might have healed. If upon the humble and respectful petitions of their American subjects, they relaxed one chord of the chain with which it was their object to fetter them, they followed the gracious indulgence by drawing tighter the others. One act of condescension never failed to bring with it another of more daring usurpation. Scheme after scheme for raising a revenue from the Colonies was successively adopted and abandoned, and more money was actually spent in supporting the vast parade of soldiers, tax-gatherers, judges and attornies, than the revenue would have amounted to under any of their schemes, even if the Colonies had quietly acquiesced in them.

At the meeting of Parliament in 1769, an Address which originated in the House of Lords and which

was concurred in by the Commons, was made to his Majesty, in which they expressed their *satisfaction* in the measures which had been pursued by his Majesty, and assured him that they would *effectually support him* in any other measures that might be thought necessary to maintain his authority in the Colonies—they concluded with beseeching his Majesty to direct the Governour of Massachusetts "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treasons committed within the government, *since the 30th day of December* 1767; and to transmit the same together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the Secretaries of State, in order that his Majesty might issue a special commission, for inquiring of, hearing and determining the said offences *within the realm of Great Britain*, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th of King Henry the 8th."

Here indeed was a death-blow aimed at the liberty of the Colonies, treading upon the heels of the Minister's promise to repeal the act for laying certain duties, *provided it was petitioned for on the ground of expediency.* Here was a bold authority to the miserable tools of the *fiend* who presided over Massachusetts, to rake up the ashes of departed years, and kindle into new life the smothered spark of treason. An attempt was made by a few of the members who had not lost all sense of justice, to arrest the passage of this part of the Address, but it was unsuccessful. His Majesty's ruinous advisers were too numerous.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was not in session when the news of this Address and its accompaniments reached America. But the House of Burges-

ses of Virginia which met in a few days afterwards, were not tardy in expressing their sense of it in a string of resolutions, which set forth, after a declaration of their *exclusive right* to tax their constituents and to petition the Sovereign either separately or conjointly with the other Colonies—"that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever committed in that colony, ought to be before his Majesty's Courts *within the said Colony;* and that the seizing any person residing in the said Colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such persons beyond the sea to be tried, was *highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects.*"—These resolutions were agreed to in a Committee of the whole, reported to the House, considered and adopted, *with closed doors*, so great was the apprehension that the Governour would hear of them and dissolve the House, before they could be passed through the requisite forms—nor was the apprehension without grounds, for this was scarcely done when the Governour, who had heard of them from some busy informer, summoned the House to appear before him, and addressed them in these words: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Representatives, I have heard of your Resolves, and augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are accordingly dissolved."

The Assemblies of North Carolina, and of South Carolina followed the example of Virginia, and shared the same fate. They were dissolved; but losing none of the feelings of patriots by being thus reduced to the level of private citizens, those gentlemen who had composed the Assembly, both in Virginia and North Carolina, held meetings and entered into unani-

mous associations against importing any articles subject to the obnoxious duties. The gentlemen and merchants of Maryland entered into a similar association—The people of Georgia, Providence Plantation, and Rhode Island, successively joined in the agreement. *Portsmouth*, in New Hampshire, was now the only sea-port town, of which the inhabitants had not agreed to the non-importation association. And so vigilantly were the members of these associations watched by their several Committees, that it now became impossible to transgress without risking the loss of property, reputation and perhaps life itself.

The General Court of Massachusetts was at length convened on the 31st of May, not having been before called together by the Governour since his memorable dissolution of it, for refusing to rescind their resolution touching the Circular letter. Their first act was to remonstrate to his Excellency against the propriety of sitting to deliberate on the affairs of the Colony, surrounded as they were by his Majesty's Sea and Land forces—and to express their expectations that his Excellency would, *as his Majesty's representative*, give orders for the removal of the said forces out of the port, and beyond the gates of the city during their session. To this his Excellency replied, that he had no authority over his Majesty's ships or his troops; and the House with a proper pride and respect for themselves, declared, that as the forces of his Majesty were acknowledged to be *uncontrollable* by any authority in the Province, and their power of course *absolute*, they would decline doing any business at the point of the bayonet. His Excellency then adjourned them to Cambridge; and in his accustomed *conciliatory* temper, made his first advances to them there, by *requir-*

ing them to provide funds for paying the expenses of quartering his Majesty's troops. As he might have foreseen, they paid no attention to his message, but passed a number of resolutions similar to those of Virginia, declaring the sending an armed force into the Colony to be "highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented and unconstitutional." In a few days the Governour's message was repeated, concerning provision for the troops—The House positively refused to appropriate any funds for the purpose, and his Excellency prorogued them to the next year; but not before he had given them a hint of his *recall*, nor time enough to prevent them from petitioning his Majesty, with the most fervent sincerity, that he might never again be sent to rule over them.

Before we dismiss Governour Bernard from our further consideration, and while he is fresh before us with the blushing honours of a Baronetcy just bestowed upon him by his grateful Sovereign, it may serve to throw some light upon the course of policy pursued by Great Britain towards her American Colonies, to give a short sketch of his official character. He was a slave to his King of the most laborious and unshaken fidelity: but to his injudicious, rash, and intemperate exercise of the power entrusted to him, more than to any other uncombined cause, did the King owe the loss of his Colonies, and the Colonies their emancipation from the most galling despotism. He was loyal to his Sovereign, not because he thought loyalty a virtue, but because it raised him to rank and emolument,—Thus he hated the Americans, not that they were vicious, disloyal, or licentious, but that they were astute enough to discern the true principles of his conduct. He commenced his government under a

system of mean and contemptible *espionage*, and found himself compelled to maintain it by fraud and deception. Having in the outset misunderstood and misrepresented the character of the Americans, it became his interest to foment discord and disturbance, that his sagacity might not be questioned at home. The humblest petitions of the people, he regarded as seditious discontent, and their most respectful remonstrances as open rebellion. He knew that the King had, on more than one occasion since his accession to the throne, manifested his dislike of the sturdy spirit of the Americans, and it became his study to foster and to feed this unnatural prejudice by every species of misrepresentation, exaggeration, and falsehood. To flatter the *enmity* of his master towards the Americans, which like a faithful servant he had imbibed in its fullest force, he did not hesitate to recommend, in contempt of royal faith, the alteration, and even total abolition of the Colonial Charters, as the easiest and shortest method of reducing the stubborn Colonists to unconditional submission. Proud and imperious in his deportment; sour, morose and surly in his temper; haughty and unyielding in his disposition, he lived eleven years in America, without having made a friend, and left it without creating a sigh of regret, even from those who had been his most intimate associates. The detestation of all good men pursued him to England, where he was hunted from society as a "dirty factious scoundrel," and where he spent the remnant of his days, despised and hated, by the very men to whom only he had proved honest and faithful.

The rigid observance of the non-importation agreement, which had now become general throughout the

Colonies, at length began to produce its intended effect in England. The merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain began once more to feel the pressure of those difficulties which had shut up their shops, during the existence of the Stamp Act. To their petitions and complaints the Ministers found themselves compelled to listen with more complacency than to the solicitations of their more distant subjects; and before the close of the session of 1769 an attempt was made in Parliament to procure the repeal of the duties. Capricious, imbecile, and undecided in all their Colonial policy, the Ministry knew not how to act. They were desirous of relieving the embarrassment of the English merchants, and they had no objection to take off a part of the burden which pressed so heavily upon the Colonies. But they were afraid lest in doing this they might be suspected of having relinquished their scheme of taxation, or having yielded a right which they were determined at all hazards to maintain. His Majesty prorogued the Parliament before any decision was made; but Lord Hillsborough, a few days afterwards addressed a Circular to the several Colonial Governours, in which he declared it to be the intention of his Majesty's Ministers, at the *next session* of Parliament, to propose taking off the duties upon glass, paper, and painters colours, (purposely omitting the article of *tea*, with which the fire of the Revolution was afterwards kindled,) on consideration of such duties having been laid *contrary to the true principles of commerce.* The Secretary concluded his letter by assuring the Governours that his Majesty "relied upon their prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his Majesty's measures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to reestablish mutual confi-

dence and affection between the Mother Country and the Colonies."

In obedience to these instructions, and in that spirit of conciliation which had marked every official act of the excellent man at the head of the Colony of Virginia, when Governour Bottetourt communicated this letter of the Secretary, to the House of Burgesses, he thus pledged himself for the performance of his Majesty's promises.—"It may possibly be objected, that as his Majesty's present Administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the present Ministers shall have attempted to perform, and to that objection I can give but this answer, that it is my firm opinion that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place, that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I for ever to abide by it, that *I will be content to be declared infamous*, if I do not to the last hour of my life; at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction which I have been *authorised to promise this day*, by the confidential servants of our gracious Sovereign, who *to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his Crown, than preserve it by deceit.*"

Nothing could be stronger than this assurance—no words could more clearly evince the devotion of this amiable Governour to his Sovereign, or at the same time more forcibly portray his affection for the people over whom he presided. The House of Burgesses felt and acknowledged the sincerity of his pledge, while they failed to experience the same confidence in his Majes-

ty or his confidential servants. They replied, however, in a manner which could not but be acceptable to the Governour, and assured him of the joy they felt at his communication, and their firm reliance on the truth and justice of their Sovereign.

The Circular letter of the Secretary, though it was received in all the Colonies, as an advance towards reconciliation, on the part of the English Cabinet, did not produce entire satisfaction in any. By making the proposed repeal a matter of commercial *expediency*, it was evident that the great ground of contention and dispute would be left untouched; and that it was still the intention of Parliament to contend for the *right* of taxation, at some future period. The merchants, therefore, however they were disposed to participate in the good humour which seemed to be partially restored by the promises held out, were still determined to persevere in the non-importation agreement; and at a publick meeting held at Boston they unanimously voted that the proposed repeal would by no means relieve their trade from the embarrassments and restrictions under which it laboured.

The sentiments of the people, generally, at the present period, cannot be better portrayed than in the following letter from the Committee of Philadelphia merchants, to their correspondents in London. The Committee was composed of some of the most respectable men in the Province, and their influence both at home and in England, was at least equal to that of the Legislative Assembly. Their letter is dated the 25th of November 1769, and runs thus:—"Though we are not favoured with an answer to our letter of the 8th of April last, yet *as the liberty of America is at stake,*

and *the minds of the people here are much agitated*, and as the continuation of the unhappy dispute between the Parliament and the Colonies must not only affect your and our interest but the general interest and happiness of both countries, we think it our duty to apply to you again, and earnestly request you would use your best endeavours with those in the Administration, to restore tranquillity, and reestablish the Colonies in the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges. We are very sensible that the prosperity of the Colonies depends upon their union and connexion with Great Britain. In this sentiment all the Americans concur, yet they cannot bring themselves to think, that for this reason they ought to be divested of liberty and property. Yet this must be the case, if the Parliament can make laws to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever—can levy taxes upon them without their consent, dispose of the revenues thus raised without their consent, multiply officers at pleasure, and assign them fees to be paid without, nay contrary to and in direct violation of Acts of Assembly regularly passed by the Colonies and approved by the crown—can enlarge the power of admiralty courts, divert the usual channels of justice, deprive the Colonists of trials by jury of their own countrymen, in short break down the barriers which their forefathers have erected against arbitrary power, and enforce their edicts by fleets and armies. To such a system of government the Americans cannot tamely submit; not from an impatience of subordination, a spirit of independence, or want of loyalty to their King; for in a quiet submission to just government, in zeal, affection, and attachment to their King, the people of the Colonies dare to vie with any of the best of their fellow-subjects; but

from an innate love of liberty and the British constitution.

"In our last we intimated our fears that the Ministry were greatly abused, and the people of America grossly misrepresented, by some who did not wish well either to Great Britain or the Colonies. The letters of one of our American Governours (Bernard) and the memorials of a board lately erected among us, not to mention other documents laid before the publick, evince that our fears were but too well grounded. From these it is apparent, that every sly art has been used to incense the Ministry against the Colonies; every argument that malice could invent has been urged to induce them to overturn the ancient foundation of liberty. Nay, to compass their base ends, they have declared in express terms, and taken uncommon pains to make the Ministry believe, that "there has been a long concerted and extensive plan of resistance to the authority of Great Britain in all the Provinces, and that a seizure made at Boston had hastened the people there to the commission of actual violence sooner than was intended."

"In justice to the Province where we reside, and indeed to all America, we beg leave to assure you, that such representations are without any just foundation, and that nothing can be a greater deviation from truth. Though at the same time we confess, that the ends accomplished by these and such like infamous slanders and vile arts, have given a general alarm, and caused a universal uneasiness in the minds of the Americans. They now see a rod of power held over their heads; they begin to feel the severities of a Court, that by its late enlarged jurisdiction is empowered to break in upon the proceedings of the

common law courts; and they have anxious fears for the existence of their Assemblies, which they consider as their last and only bulwark against arbitrary power. For if, say they, laws can be made, money levied, government supported, and justice administered without the intervention of Assemblies, of what use can they be? They are no essential member of the constitution. And being useless and unessential, is there not reason to fear they will quickly become disagreeable and then be wholly laid aside.? And when that happens, what security have we for freedom, or what remains for the Colonists but the most abject slavery?

"These are not the reasonings of politicians, but the sentiments and the language of the people in general. For with great truth we may say, in no country is the love of liberty more deeply rooted, or the knowledge of the rights inherent to freemen more generally diffused, and the principles of freedom and government better understood than among the British American Colonies.

"For this reason we think ourselves obliged to inform you, that though the merchants have confined their agreements to the repeal of the Act laying a duty on tea, paper, glass, &c. yet nothing less than a repeal of all the revenue Acts, and putting things on the same footing they were before the late innovations, can or will satisfy the minds of the people. The fleets and armies may overawe our towns; admiralty courts and boards of commissions, with their swarms of underlings, may by a rigorous execution of severe unconstitutional Acts, ruin our commerce, and render America of little use to the people of Britain; but while every farmer is a freeholder, the spirit of liberty will prevail, and every attempt to divest

them of the privileges of freemen, must be attended with consequences injurious to the Colonies and the Mother Country.

"In a matter of so great importance you will excuse this freedom. We consider the merchants here and in England, as the links of the chain that binds both countries together. They are deeply concerned in preserving the union and connexion.—Whatever tends to alienate the affections of the Colonists, or to make them averse to the customs, fashions, and manufactures of Britain hurts their interest. While some therefore, from ambitious views and sinister motives, are labouring to widen the breach, we whose private interest is happily connected with the union, or which is the same, with the peace and prosperity of both countries, may be allowed to plead for an end to these unhappy disputes; and that by a repeal of the offensive Acts, the cause of jealousy and uneasiness may be removed, tranquillity restored, harmony and mutual affection reestablished, and trade return to its usual channel."

CHAPTER VI.

State of affairs in England—Ineffectual opposition of the friends of America to the Ministry—Lord North succeeds the Duke of Grafton as first Lord of the Treasury—His motion for the partial repeal of the Port Duties—Debates thereon—Riot at Boston between the Soldiers and Ropemakers—Several of the people killed by the Soldiers—Mr. Hutchinson refuses to remove the troops from Boston—Funeral pomp at the burial of those killed—Liberty Poles erected in New York—Assembly of Massachusetts convened at Cambridge—Their remonstrance on account of it—Trial of Captain Preston and his Soldiers—Honourable conduct of Mr. Adams and Mr. Quincy—Mr. Hutchinson made Governour and Captain General—affair of the Gaspee at Rhode Island—Instructions of the town of Petersham to their constituents—General feeling of the people on the first measures of Lord North's Administration.

We shall now be obliged for a few moments, to turn our attention to affairs in England. The Parliament met on the 9th of January 1770. The Earl of Chatham, who had been so long detained from publick duties by ill health, whose mind had suffered almost as much as his body, and who had been long looked upon as dead to the world, now made his appearance—his health unexpectedly restored, and his intellectual faculties completely renovated. On the usual motion for an address to the Throne, this illustrious Statesman arose, and after declaring that nothing but the present alarming state of the nation, could have brought him from his retirement bowing as he was under the weight of infirmities, he lamented in his usual energetick manner, those *unhappy measures* which had alienated the Colonies from the Mother Country, and which had driven them into excesses *he*

could not justify. "But said he, such is my partiality for America, that I am disposed to make allowance *even for these excesses.* The discontents of three millions of people deserve consideration: *the foundation of those discontents ought to be removed.*"

His Lordship concluded his speech by moving an amendment to the Address, pledging the House to take into their speedy and serious consideration, the *causes* of the discontents which now distracted every part of his Majesty's Empire. But the amendment was negatived by a large majority.

On the 22d of January another attempt was made to come at the object of his Lordship, which proved more successful. The Marquis of Rockingham introduced the subject, in the following clear, concise, spirited and independent manner. He said, "that the present unhappy condition of affairs, and the *universal discontents of the people,* did not arise from any immediate temporary cause, but had grown upon the nation by degrees *from the moment of his Majesty's accession to the throne:* that a total change had then taken place in the old system of English Government, and a *new maxim* adopted *fatal to the liberties of the country,* viz. that the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government to whatever hands the administration should be committed. The operation of this principle (said his Lordship) can be traced through every act of government during the present reign, in which his Majesty's *secret advisers* could be supposed to have any influence. He recommended therefore strongly to their Lordships to *fix an early day* for taking into consideration the state of the country, *in all its relations and dependencies,* foreign, provincial and domestick, for we had been *injured in*

them all. That consideration, he trusted, would lead their Lordships to advise the Crown, not only how to correct past errours, but how to establish a system of government *more wise,* more permanent, better suited to the genius of the people, and consistent with the spirit of the Constitution." The noble Lord was seconded in this motion by the Duke of Grafton. Lord Chatham again arose on this occasion, and after declaring that his grace had anticipated him, he said, that "his infirmities must fall heavy on him indeed, if he did not attend his duty in the House *that day* —he said that he wished his avowed approbation of the motion now made, to be understood as a publick demonstration of the *cordial union* that now subsisted *between the noble Marquis and himself.* There was indeed a time, (said he) when those who wished well to neither, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against both. But the noble Lord and his friends, are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which, I trust, will be found as permanent as it is honourable;—*not to share the emoluments of the State,* but, if possible, to *save it from impending ruin.*"

Before the day fixed upon for this important enquiry, the Duke of Grafton, resigned the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and was succeeded by Lord North, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who thus became the head of an Administration, which from that time to the close of the American Revolution directed the destinies of Great Britain, and by their errours and follies, reduced her mighty Empire in the West to the barren possession of the two Canadas.

The avowed cause of the Duke of Grafton's unexpected resignation was the dismissal of his colleague Lord Camden, from whom the Great Seal had been most ungraciously taken, in consequence of his having voted with Lord Chatham on his amendment to the Address.

One of the first acts of Lord North's administration was a motion for the repeal of the port duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on *tea*, which his Lordship expressly declared, he desired to keep on as an assertion of the *supremacy* of the Parliament. In vain it was contended that the reservation of this single article would keep up the contention, which it was so desirable to allay—that after giving up the prospect of a revenue from the Colonies, it was absurd and impolitick to persevere in the assertion of an abstract claim of right, which if attempted in any mode to be carried into practice, would produce nothing but civil discord, and interminable opposition—that in short if nothing more was meant by this omission of the *tea* in the repeal, than the mere declaration of Parliamentary Supremacy, the law already in existence, under the title of the *Declatory Act*, was abundantly sufficient for that purpose, and that the Americans had hitherto silently acquiesced in that law.

To all these arguments Lord North replied, in the following strain of supercilious insult—"Has the repeal of the Stamp Act taught the Americans obedience? Has our lenity inspired them with moderation? Can it be proper, while they deny one legal power to tax them, to acquiesce in the argument of illegality? and, by the repeal of the *whole* law, to give up that power? No! the properest time to exert our right to taxation is when the right is refused. To temporize

is to yield; and the authority of the Mother country, if it is now unsupported, will in reality be relinquished for ever. A *total repeal* (he continued,) *cannot be thought of, till America is* PROSTRATE AT OUR FEET. —Thus did this new Minister, even while he professed to be making a *concession* to the Colonies, insult them with a threat of his future vengeance—and thus did he treat their pretentions to exemption, at the moment that he was offering a measure for the avowed purpose of regaining their affections.

While these things were passing in England; the Colonies perhaps would have enjoyed something like a calm, contenting themselves with the observance of their non-importation agreement, but for the continuance of his Majesty's armed forces in the harbour and town of Boston. It was impossible for the people not to feel continual irritation at the presence of the soldiery, with whom they came in contact at every hour of the day, and at every corner of the streets. A knowledge that they were placed there for the purpose of keeping the citizens in awe, served too to render these soldiers, as well as their officers, overbearing and insolent upon all occasions. If this cause of offence had been removed, (as it would have been, some months before, had any other man than *Bernard* been at the head of the government,) it is more than probable, the people would soon have forgotten the causes which brought them there, and like their fellow-citizens of the other Colonies, have settled down into a state of calm and tranquility.

But the temper of the patriotick citizens of Boston was further kept in a state of excitement, by the machinations of their Lieutenant Governour, Mr. Hutchinson, now acting as the Chief Magistrate, and who was but little behind his predecessor, in enmity to the

Americans. He attempted to promote an association with some of the richest merchants, in opposition to the non-importation agreement; and though his scheme failed of success, the knowledge of it tended to create distress and jealousies, and produced assemblies of the people, that led to serious consequences. At one of these meetings it was determined to send back to England all the goods which had been imported—a decision in which the mob had much more to do than the owners of the goods, though it was said to be a *voluntary* act. While the merchants of Boston, however, or the people, were thus vigilant and strict in the observance of their agreement, the merchants of Newport, and of New York had been brought to consent to import. This produced a clamour at Boston and at Philadelphia, and recriminations on the part of New York—the merchants of whom asserted, that, notwithstanding their boast of fidelity to the association, the Bostonians had never ceased to make large importations. But this, though partially true, could be no excuse for the defection of New York, nor would it have been offered, but that the government had so contrived as to get a majority of its friends into the New York association.

Thus were affairs situated when on the 2d of March a quarrel occurred between a soldier and a man employed at Mr. Gray's rope-walk. The provocation was given by the citizen, and a scuffle ensued which ended in the defeat of the soldier, who soon after collected a number of his comrades, and the affray became general between them and the rope makers. This was enough to stir up the whole body of the citizens, who determined to try their strength in a pitched battle with the soldiers. The 5th of the month was fixed upon

for the trial—and between seven and eight o'clock in the evening a few persons, chiefly boys, collected and began to ring the bells. This mob was gradually encreased to about one hundred, who after going to several of the barracks and endeavouring in vain to provoke the soldiers to battle, at last determined upon attacking the guard, stationed at the Custom House. Thither therefore they repaired, and by pelting the soldiers with snow-balls, stones and ice, and using at the same time every provocation by means of insulting language, seven of the eight who composed the guard, were induced to fire. By their discharges three of the assailants were killed and several dangerously wounded.—The mob now dispersed, spreading the news in every direction—the bells were again rung, the alarm of "fire" was given—the drums were beat and the citizens every where called "to arms."—In a short time several thousands of the citizens were assembled, and a dreadful scene of blood would have ensued, but for the promises and assurances of Mr. Hutchinson, that the affair should be settled to their satisfaction in the morning. The morning came, and with it a still larger collection of the people, with Mr. *Samuel Adams* and Mr. *Royal Tyler* at their head. They demanded in peremptory terms of the Lieutenant Governour, that the troops should be immediately removed from the town. But this worthy successour of Bernard was so fearful of doing any thing that should offend *the Ministry,* that he absolutely refused to give the order for their removal, though the commanding officer stood by to assure him of his readiness to obey the order. The Council was kept in session until night awaiting his decision—Committees were twice sent from the assembled citizens—urging, imploring, threatening, to no

purpose. In vain he was told by Mr. Tyler, that the men at present assembled, were not such as had formerly *pulled down his house*—that they were the best people in the town, men who were determined, *at all hazards*, to effect the removal of the troops. Mr. Hutchinson was immoveable, and but that *self* was the moving spring of his conduct, he might be applauded for his firmness. But he would with equal indifference have seen the streets flowing with the blood of his fellow citizens, sooner than have stirred a foot beyond his hopes of *promotion*. His Majesty might upbraid him with deserting *his* cause, if he listened to that of the people.

The consequences of his obstinacy would undoubtedly soon have become terrible, if Mr. Hutchinson had not at length been frightened into compliance, by being told that he must either consent, or *quit the Province*.—The people can surely not be condemned for precipitation or violence, when it is known that they waited with patience to receive their redress from the hands of their first Magistrate for nearly twenty four hours. Indeed it is hardly possible to conceive more patient forbearance than was shewn on this occasion. Had they been the turbulent and factious set which it was the constant practice of their Governours to represent them to be, the streets would have been drenched in blood, while his excellency was debating how best to escape the censure of the Ministers.—The promise to remove the troops quieted the people and they returned to their homes.

The men who had been killed were buried in one vault, with every mark of funeral pomp and military parade. During the procession the shops were shut, and the bells of Boston and the adjoining towns of

Charlestown and Roxbury continued to toll. Thus were the feelings of the people expressed for the *massacre* of their fellow citizens.

In the Province of New-York similar scenes were transacted. The *Liberty poles* erected by the citizens were every where cut down by the soldiers—quarrels ensued, and the outraged populace lost no opportunity of insulting and abusing his Majesty's troops. Numerous meetings were held, and the Assembly were petitioned to grant no more supplies to the troops—they promised compliance with the wishes of the people, and deceived them. This produced several publications, in which the Assembly were accused of having *betrayed the inhabitants of the city and* Colony of New-York. The Assembly voted these papers *seditious libels* and offered rewards for the discovery of the authors. The printer was frightened into a disclosure of the name of *Mr. M'Dougall,* who was arrested and committed to jail. Of this gentleman we shall presently have to speak again. A meeting, consisting of 1400 inhabitants, was soon after held, at which it was almost unanimously determined to instruct their representatives in the Assembly not to pay the supplies demanded for the troops. The leaders of this meeting were brought up before the Assembly; but being found to be men of influence and respectability they were dismissed without punishment.

On the 31st of May of this year, the Assembly of Massachusetts was convened by Governour Hutchinson, *at Cambridge.* The House decided by a large majority, that they would enter upon no business at Cambridge, remonstrated against being convened at that place, and voted it to be a great "grievance" to sit

any where but at Boston. This determined the Governour to prorogue them, to the 21st of July.

Thus were affairs situated in the Colonies, when intelligence was received of the *partial* repeal of the *Port duties*. The purposed reservation of the *Tea*, and the insolent declaration of Lord North, were not calculated to still the tumult or to silence complaint. Indeed if there had been no such avowal from the Minister the partial repeal of the duties would not have been sufficient to remove the apprehensions of the Colonists—at least in the Colonies of Massachusetts and New York, while they continued to be insulted by the presence of an armed force. No relaxation therefore was made in the non importation agreement, as it regarded the article upon which the duty was retained, and scarcely a sensation of pleasure was excited by this Act, which was considered as so condescending and conciliatory on the part of the Ministry.

The Massachusetts General Court again assembled at Cambridge, on the day of prorogation, but persisted in their determination to enter upon no business, and declaring in their message to the Governour that the grievances and cruelties which had been brought upon them by the *devices of the Ministers* were too great to be *much longer borne* by the people. This message, and broad hint, however, had no other effect upon the Governour, than to induce him to prorogue them a second time, to the 26th of September, to meet at the *same place*. It is difficult to conceive what could have been the object which Mr. Hutchinson hoped to gain, by obstinately continuing his opposition to the wishes of the Assembly to meet at Boston. The troops were now removed, from their quarters in town, to the Castle, and there could be no more

danger of any hostile proceedings between them and the members at Boston, than at Cambridge. But the Governour was probably fearful of the influence which their presence and feelings might have on the trial of Captain Preston and his men, which was now near at hand—if this really was his reason for refusing to convene them at Boston, his conduct cannot be considered as so censurable.

On the third meeting of the Assembly, the members despairing of being able to accomplish their wish of removing to Boston, and finding that the publick exigencies required their attention to business, contented themselves with a *protest* against their being compelled to meet out of Boston and proceeded to business as usual. The Governour opened the Session by informing them that the garrison, in the pay of the Province, were to be withdrawn from the Castle, by order of his Majesty and their places supplied with *regular troops;* and that he had orders to deliver up the fort to any officer whom General Gage should direct to take the command. To this the Assembly replied "If the custody and government of the fortress are to be lodged with the military power, *independent* of the supreme civil Magistrate within this jurisdiction, it will be so essential an *alteration of the Constitution* that it cannot but justly alarm a free people." The Governour afterwards disingenuously left them to understand, what was not the fact, that he still retained his authority over them.

The long talked of trial of Captain Preston and the guard who fired upon and killed three of the citizens in March, now came on. It excited, as was natural, universal interest—the most inflammatory publications had been from time to time issued, setting forth

the conduct of the accused in the most horrible light —every means, which vengeance in its utmost ingenuity could suggest, had been used to excite the popular fury. Against all this, therefore, the jury had to arm themselves; and it is no small praise of them to say, that their innate integrity was proof against all the suggestions of passion. They examined the evidence against the prisoners by the principles of eternal justice; and remembering the great precept of the Christian doctrine, they gave themselves a claim, by their honest and unprejudiced verdicts, to the admiration, esteem and gratitude of their country. Captain Preston was honourably acquitted, and two only of the soldiers were convicted, not of murder, but of *manslaughter*. Nor ought we to pass over in silence the conduct of the Counsel for the prisoners on this occasion—*John Adams* and *Josiah Quincy*. They had rendered themselves conspicuous in the earliest stages of the Colonial struggle for freedom, by resisting the demands of the British Ministry under all their disguises. They had become popular; and they were now to put that popularity to a fiery test, by undertaking the defence of men in every sense odious to the people. But this consideration weighed nothing with these patriots, compared with their regard for the immutable principles of truth and justice—of which they stood forth the honest and intrepid champions. And the result was not less honourable to them, than glorious to the great cause of the Colonies, in which they had embarked their talents, their zeal, and their influence. It gave a character to the kind of resistance made by the Colonies, in direct contradiction of the falsehoods continually poured into the Ministerial ear —that none but a *factious mob* opposed the govern-

mental decrees. The issue of this trial offered evidence the most plenary and conclusive, that the patriotick and conscientious men who ranged themselves against the usurpations of the Ministry, were too noble minded to take advantage of the mad ebullitions of a *mob*—that they were guided by a solemn sense of duty to themselves, their country and their posterity, in struggling to maintain the sanctity of chartered rights.

The General Court closed its session in November, by prorogation, after having resolved among other things to promote industry and frugality, and to encourage the use of *domestick manufactures* throughout the Province—and having appointed a "Committee of Correspondence" to communicate with the agents in Great Britain, and with the Committees of the Colonies.

The first of these resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly, namely, to discourage the use of foreign articles, had been adopted in consequence of a determination of the merchants of Boston, made during their present session, by which they agreed to *alter* their non-importation agreement, and adopt the plan which had been for some time followed in New York and in Philadelphia. This plan embraced the importation of all the usual articles of trade, *except tea*, which it was unanimously agreed, should not be brought into the country, *unless it could be smuggled.*

Early in the following year 1771, Mr. Hutchinson received from his Majesty the gracious gift of the honours, after which he had been so long panting. He was appointed "Captain General and Commander in Chief over the Province," which glad tidings he communicated, in due form, to the Assembly, at its meet-

ing in May. But that Body soured as they were by being still compelled to meet at Cambridge, very uncivilly refused to pass any congratulatory compliments on the occasion to his Excellency.

They were still further soured a few weeks afterwards by a message from his Excellency, in which he informed them, that he was forbidden by his Majesty's instructions "to give his assent to any Act subjecting the commissioners of the Customs, and other officers of the Crown, to be taxed by the usual assessors, for the profits of their commissions—and that they must therefore so qualify their tax bill." In their reply to this message, the House firmly and indignantly told his Excellency that "they knew of no Commissioners of *his Majesty's Customs*, nor of any revenue *his Majesty* had a right to establish in North America. We know and feel (said they,) a *tribute* levied and *extorted* from those, who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it."

Such language but ill accorded with the Governour's high notions of prerogative and ministerial infallibility. It was not possible that there could be harmony or cordiality between such a Governour as Mr. Hutchinson, and such men as then constituted the Legislature—the session therefore passed, as usual, in constant sparrings and recriminations, the one side as unyielding as the other was perverse.

Nothing worthy of historical notice occurred during the present year in the other Colonies. The merchants by their agreements had given a kind of sanction to smuggling, and a few cases of violent resistance to the revenue officers occasionally occurred, in which the magistrates refused, when called upon, to interpose their authority.

The year 1772 brought with it many fresh obstacles to reconciliation, and many new sources of animosity and discord. Among the most important of these were the burning of his Majesty's revenue Cutter, the Gaspee, at Rhode Island, and his Majesty's grant of salaries to the Governours and Judges of Massachusetts, thereby rendering them independent of the people.

With regard to the first of these circumstances, the facts were briefly these. Lieutenant Duddington, who commanded the armed schooner *Gaspee*, had contrived to render himself an object of universal detestation to the people of Rhode Island, by his extraordinary zeal and unnecessary severity in the execution of the revenue laws. On the 9th of June, as the *Providence* packet was sailing into the harbour of *Newport*, unsuspected of any design to evade the revenue, with which only it was the Lieutenant's business to meddle, her master was peremptorily ordered to *lower his colours*. He refused, and a shot was fired at him from the schooner which immediately made sail in chase. By some dexterous management on the part of the master of the packet, he led the schooner on a shoal where she grounded, and remained fast. At night it was determined by a number of fishermen and others, headed by several respectable merchants of Providence, that so good an opportunity of revenge should not be lost; and they accordingly manned a number of whale boats in which they proceeded to the schooner, boarded, made themselves masters of her, and then set her on fire. When the knowledge of this event came to the Governour, a reward of *five hundred pounds* was offered by Proclamation, for the discovery of the offenders, and the royal pardon to those who would confess their guilt. Commissioners were appointed

also to investigate the offence and bring the perpetrators to justice. But the Commissioners, after remaining sometime in session, reported that they could obtain *no evidence*, and thus the affair terminated. It will serve to show the inviolable *brotherhood* which then united the people in one phalanx against the Government. In consequence of this event an Act was passed by the British Parliament making it a *capital* offence to destroy his Majesty's ships, ammunition or *stores*, and subjecting the offender, whether in America or England, to be tried *in any county in Great Britain*, at the pleasure of his Majesty. But what are all the engines of opposition which tyranny can invent, to a people determined to be free.

The other circumstance to which we have alluded, was the Governour's communication to the Assembly at their session in June, that *his Majesty* had been pleased to make *provision for his support*. The Assembly had been convened as before at Cambridge, but as a sort of counterpoise to the information contained in his message, before they could reply to it, he adjourned them to meet at Boston. They lost no time here in making known their opinions upon the subject to his Excellency. They stated to him in their message, that the King's "making provision for his Excellency's support independent of the grants and Acts of the General Assembly, *and the Governour's receiving the same*, is an infraction of the rights of the inhabitants granted by the royal charter."

No usurpation or innovation of the British Ministry, not even the Stamp Act, gave greater discontent or excited more general resentment in Massachusetts, than the plan for rendering the Governour and the Judges independent of *the people*, by salaries from the *Crown*.

It has always been regarded, and must always be regarded, as one of the strongest bulwarks of the liberty of the people, to have a judiciary independent of the Executive—It is indeed a principle of the British Constitution, and the attempt to subvert it, as it applied to the Colonies, is only another proof of the folly and infatuation which marked every act of Lord North's most erroneous administration. This it was that led to the formation of Committees of Correspondence, in all the towns of Massachusetts, the important consequences of which soon began to manifest themselves, both abroad and at home. They originated in the joint counsels of *James Warren*, of Plymouth, and *Samuel Adams*, of Boston. By them a town meeting was called early in November, by which a committee was appointed to write to the other towns in the Province and solicit their concurrence in the measure. Most of the towns soon united in the measures of Boston, and the spirit and object of these Committees may be readily seen from the following report, made by one of them, to their constituents of *Petersham*. We give this in preference to others, because it will be found to exhibit that union of *religious* and political enthusiasm, which forms at once the strongest bond, and communicates the most powerful energy to action.

"The town having received a circular letter from the town of *Boston*, respecting the present grievances and *abominable oppressions* under which this country groans, have therefore taken into their most serious consideration the present policy of the British government and administration, with regard to Great Britain, and these Colonies; have carefully reviewed the mode of election, and the quality of the electors of the Commons of that island; and have also attentively reflect-

ed upon the enormous and growing influence of the crown, and that *bane of all free states*, a standing army in the time of peace; and in consequence thereof are fully confirmed in opinion, that the ancient rights of the nation are capitally invaded, and the greatest part of the most precious and established liberties of *Englishmen* utterly destroyed: And whereas the Parliament of Great Britain, by various statutes and acts, have unrighteously distressed our trade, denied and precluded us from setting up and carrying on manufactures highly beneficial to the inhabitants of these territories; restricted and prevented our lawful intercourse and commerce with other states and kingdoms; have also made laws and institutions touching the life and limb, in *disherison* of the ancient common law of the land; and moreover have in these latter times, robbed and plundered the honest and laborious inhabitants of this extensive Continent of their property, by mere force and power; and are now draining the people of the fruits of their toil, by thus raising a revenue from them, against the natural rights of man, and in open violation of the laws of God.

"This town, in union with the worthy inhabitants of Boston, now think it their indispensable duty to consider of the premises and the present aspect of the times, and to take such steps as upon mature deliberation are judged right and expedient: and hereupon this town

"Resolved, That with a Governour appointed from Great Britain (especially at this day) during pleasure, with a large stipend, dependent upon the will of the Crown, and controlled by instructions from a British Minister of State, with a council subject to the negative of such a Governour, and with all officers, civil

and military, subject to his appointment or consent, with a castle in the hands of a standing army, stationed in the very bowels of the land; and that amazing number of placemen and dependants, with which every maritime town already swarms, no people can ever be truly virtuous, free or brave:

"Resolved, That the Parliament of Great Britain, usurping and exercising a legislative authority over, and extorting an *unrighteous revenue* from these Colonies, is against all divine and human laws. The late appointment of salaries to be paid to our superior court judges, whose creation, pay, and commission, depend on mere will and pleasure, completes a system of bondage equal to any fabricated by the combined efforts of the ingenuity, malice, fraud and wickedness of man:

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this town, that a despotick, arbitrary government, is the kingdom of this world, as set forth in the New Testament, and is diametrically opposite to the establishment of christianity in a society, and has a direct tendency to sink a people into a profound state of ignorance, and irreligion; and that, if we have an eye to our own and posterity's happiness (not only in this world, but the world to come) it is our duty to oppose such a government:

"And further resolved, That the depriving the Colonies of their constitutional rights, may be fitly compared to the dismembering the national body, which will soon affect the heart; and it would be nothing unexpected for us to hear, that those very persons who have been so active in robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights, have also delivered up the

constitution of our Mother Country into the hands of our King:

"Therefore resolved, That it is the first and highest social duty of this people, to consider of, and seek ways and means, for a speedy redress of these mighty grievances and intolerable wrongs: and that for the obtaining of this end, this people are warranted, by the laws of God, and nature, in the use of every rightful art and energy of policy, stratagem and force.

"And while we are thus under these awful frowns of divine Providence and involved as these people are in heavy calamities, which daily increase in number and severity, it is highly becoming towns and individuals to humble themselves before Almighty God, seriously to commune with their own hearts, and seek carefully with tears, for the causes of the prevailing distresses of the land; and while it is apparent, that pristine piety and purity of morals, have given place to infidelity, dissipation, luxury and gross corruption of morals, there is a loud call for humility, lamentings and reformation; and it is at this time eminently incumbent on one and all, to seek at the throne of the great God for those special and remarkable interpositions of divine Providence, grace and mercy, which have so often saved New England from both publick and private distress and misery; and as there is great reason to believe, that in past times we have too much depended upon the exertions of worldly wisdom and political devices, it becomes us in our present melancholy situation to rely no longer on an arm of flesh, but on the arm of that all powerful God, who is able to unite the numerous inhabitants of this extensive territory, as a band of brothers in one common cause—who can easily give that true religion, which shall

make us his people indeed; that spirit which shall fit us to endure temporal hardships for the procurement of future happiness; that spirit of valour and irresistable courage, which shall occasion our aged and our youth to jeopard their lives with joy, in the high places of the field, for his name and service sake, for the preservation also of this goodly heritage of our fathers, for the sake of the living children of our loins, and the unborn millions of posterity.

"We believe that there are very many, who in these days have kept their integrity and garments unspotted, and hope that God will deliver them and our nation for their sake. God will not suffer this land where the gospel hath flourished, to become a slave of the world; he will stir up witnesses of the truth; and in his own time, spirit his people to stand up for his cause and deliver them. In a similar belief, the great *Algernon Sydney*, lived and died, and dying breathed a like sentiment and prophecy, touching his own and the then approaching times, a prophecy, however, not accomplished until a *glorious revolution.*"

These were the men whom Lord North vainly hoped to *coerce*.

CHAPTER VII.

Operation of 1773—Virginia Resolves—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly—Discovery of a secret correspondence—Proceedings thereupon—Speech of Mr. Wedderburn—The King refuses to remove Governour Hutchinson—East India Company send over their Tea—The Americans refuse to have it landed—Burning of the Tea at Boston.

We have now arrived at a most interesting period of our Revolutionary history. The town Committees which had been established throughout the Province of Massachusetts, by their free inquiries, and spirited reports and resolutions, had aroused the energies of the whole Continent; the greater part of which, from the absence of similar excitements, had hitherto only sympathised in the sufferings and oppressions, without participating in the tumults and disorders, of that devoted Colony. Now, however, circumstances were developed, which proved, that though the means heretofore adopted had borne more particularly upon the people of the Eastern Provinces, the system of the Ministry was intended ultimately to oppress the whole—that forbearance was construed into fear, patience into submission; and that nothing short of the most abject slavery would content the merciless Counsellors, whose ruinous and detestable policy it was, to build up the prerogative of the Crown, by the demolition of the Constitution. All ranks and conditions of men now felt the necessity of stemming the torrent of Ministerial vengeance; and even at this early day, 1773, the illustrious *Patrick Henry*, of Virginia, prophecied the speedy *independence* of his coun-

try. That eminent orator and Statesman, had been accustomed to look deeply into the human character. He had studied his countrymen closely—he knew them well—and could predict the extent of their forbearance. It is a memorable and singular proof of his political foresight, that he predicted the *declaration of independence*, with most of its attendant circumstances, three years before the fact occurred.

Almost at the same moment of the present year, the two assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia, without any previous concert or correspondence—a fact which serves to show the unity of sentiment which now pervaded the people—passed a number of resolutions, recommending the appointment of a *standing committee of correspondence and inquiry*, whose purpose will be best explained, in the language of the resolutions themselves. We copy those of *Virginia*, which were introduced into the House of Burgesses, in committee of the whole, on the 12th of March 1773, by Mr. *Dabney Carr*, a young patriot of noble promise, whose fate it was to be snatched from his friends and fellow labourers in the cause of his country, within a few weeks after giving this pledge of his future usefulness.

"Whereas the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this Colony have been much disturbed, by various rumours, and reports of proceedings, tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal and constitutional rights:

"And whereas the affairs of this Colony are frequently connected with those of Great Britain, as well as the neighbouring Colonies, which renders a communication of sentiment necessary; in order, therefore, to remove the uneasiness, and to quiet the minds

of the people, as well as for the other good purposes above mentioned:

"Be it resolved, that a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, to wit: the honourable *Peyton Randolph* esquire, *Robert C. Nicholas*, *Richard Bland*, *Richard H. Lee*, *Benjamin Harrison*, *Edward Pendleton*, *Patrick Henry*, *Dudley Digges*, *Dabney Carr*, *Archibald Cary*, and *Thomas Jefferson*, esquires, any six of whom to be a committee, whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentick intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament or proceedings of adminstration as may relate to, or affect the British Colonies in America; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister Colonies, respecting these important considerations; and the result of such their proceedings, from time to time, to lay before this House.

"Resolved, That it be an instruction to the said committee that they do, without delay, inform themselves particularly of the principles and authority, on which was constituted a court of inquiry, said to have been lately held in Rhode Island, with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America, to places beyond the seas, to be tried.

"Resolved, That the Speaker of this House do transmit to the Speakers of the different Assemblies of the British Colonies on the Continent, copies of the said resolutions, and desire that they will lay them before their respective Assemblies, and request them to appoint some person or persons of their respective bodies, to communicate from time to time, with the said committee."

These resolutions were passed by the House with-

out a dissenting voice, and immediately carried into effect.

It was at this period of publick excitément, when every nerve and every pulse were trembling with enthusiasm, that Governour *Hutchinson*, the worthy instrument of Lord North, in his message to the Massachusetts Assembly, touched upon the obnoxious subject of *Parliamentary supremacy*, and the *seditious* nature of their town meetings. It was the evident design and object of the Governour to excite the House to some measure of violence, but they were too cautious and guarded in their reply, to furnish any food to his revengeful appetite, and his Excellency's scheme was baffled.

The usual annual appropriations for the salaries of the Judges, formed another subject of dispute with the Governour—he refused to give his assent to the grants, on the plea of his Majesty's having been pleased to order the salaries of the judges—The Assembly persisted and appealed to the judges, of whom they demanded a categorical answer to the question, whether they would, in violation of the constitution and charter, consent to be paid by the Crown, or like faithful friends of freedom and the Province, continue to receive their salaries from the Legislature? Four of the judges gave satisfactory answers to this query, but *Peter Oliver*, the Chief Justice, preferred the money of his Majesty; and articles of *impeachment* were forthwith drawn up against him by the Assembly, which, however, the Governour refused to sanction. Thus thwarted in their efforts to punish this refractory judge, the House determined, as their only alternative, to render both him and the Governour odious to the people, and with this view passed the following

sarcastick resolution: "That the House have done all that in their capacity of Representatives can be done for the removal of Peter Oliver; and *it must be presumed*, that the Governour's refusal to take any measure therein, is *because he also receives his support from the Crown.*"

An evidence of the sort of feeling which had been excited against his Excellency the Governour, and his train of Ministerial puppets, was soon given, in a resolution entered into by a town meeting of Boston, instructing their Select men to refuse the use of *Faneuil Hall*, for the purpose of the annual Election dinner, which his Excellency and his friends had been accustomed to enjoy, in that spacious and venerable temple of Liberty.

In the mean time the Legislatures of *Connecticut*, *Rhode Island*, *New-Hampshire*, and *Maryland*, having received the *Virginia Resolves*, had entered into their object and spirit with cordial concurrence, and given their assurances of support to the common cause.

During the subsequent session of the Massachusetts Assembly—which seemed to be the centre of all operations—a combination of singular and extraordinary circumstances brought to light a discovery that added ten fold wrath to the fury already raging in that Province, against his Excellency Mr. Hutchinson. Dr. Franklin, the Colonial Agent, had (by some means which have never been disclosed,) possessed himself of the confidential correspondence of *Mr. Hutchinson*, *Mr. Oliver*, and several others of the King's most zealous partizans with their friends in England. In these letters, the sentiments of the writers were expressed without restraint, and were such as might be expected to flow from men, who in their whole publick conduct

had evinced nothing but the most implacable resentment and prejudices against the people of their Colony. By these letters it was seen, that to the suggestions of the writers might be attributed some of the most obnoxious measures of the Ministry—particularly that of making the Governour and Judges independent of the people. The two gentlemen mentioned, had not scrupled to propose an *alteration of the Charter*, and the institution of an *Order of Patricians*—they had further hinted at the expediency of "*taking off*" some of the "*original incendiaries.*"—These letters were transmitted by Doctor Franklin, to *Mr. Bowdoin*, of Boston, with a request that he would communicate their contents to *a few only of his most trusty friends*—and in this lies much of the *mystery* attached to the *manner* in which these letters were obtained, and the *use* intended to be made of them: for Doctor Franklin, (in a subsequent communication to the publick, which his sense of propriety led him to make for the purpose of removing suspicion from others,) says that he was prompted by a sense of duty "to transmit them *to his constituents.*" But neither *Mr. Bowdoin*, nor the gentlemen to whom Mr. Bowdoin was requested to communicate them, were the Doctor's "constituents," in the only sense in which his purity of morals would allow him to use the term, as he was the "Agent of the House of Representatives."—We must trust that the reader will find an excuse for this digression, in the extraordinary nature of the whole affair.

It was hardly possible for the contents of the letters to remain long a secret—they became a subject of conversation, and Mr. *Samuel Adams*, who was too much a friend of the people to screen their enemies from detection, at length made a formal commu-

nication of them to the Assembly. The feelings of that Body, on the disclosure, were kindled to the utmost intensity of wrath and indignation. They instantly and unanimously resolved "That the tendency and design of the said letters were to *overthrow the Constitution of this Government,* and to introduce arbitrary power into the Province." Their next step was to petition the King "to remove the Governour Hutchinson, and the Lieutenant Governour Oliver, *for ever* from the government of the Province." This petition was voted by 82 out of 94 voices, so few friends had these "*incendiaries*" in the house of Assembly.

Their petition was immediately transmitted to their Agent, Doctor Franklin, and delivered by him to Lord Dartmouth, (who had succeeded the Earl of Hillsborough as Secretary for the Colonies, in the autumn of 1772,) a nobleman of great probity, and of friendly feelings towards the Americans. But his Lordship was not permitted to decide upon the Petition—his Majesty signified his pleasure that it should be laid before *him in Council:* and when it came under consideration, Doctor Franklin, as the Agent of the Province, was summoned to support it.

On this occasion, Mr. Wedderburn, (afterwards Chancellor of Great Britain, with the title of Lord Loughborough,) appeared before the Council, in behalf of the two Governours. The license which he was permitted to use in that capacity, led him beyond any thing which was ever, before or since, heard in the presence of a King and Council, or of *any* dignified Assembly. But his violations of decorum, his rude, unprovoked, unmerited insults to the venerable philosopher and patriot who stood before him, his malicious insinuations, and bitter invectives against

the whole Continent of America, we must presume, were highly acceptable to his Majesty, or the orator would have been stopped in his insolent career. This is a part of what he said on that memorable occasion—it deserves to stand on record, as an everlasting monument of the temper and taste of the "King's most excellent Majesty," and the patient forbearance of the noble Lords who surrounded him in Council.

"Dr. Franklin, (said Mr. Wedderburn,) stands in the light of the *first mover* and *prime conductor* of this whole *contrivance* against his Majesty's two Governours; and having, by the help of his own special confidents and party leaders, first made the Assembly *his* Agent in carrying on his own secret designs, he now appears before your Lordships to give the *finishing stroke* to the work of his own hands. How these letters came into possession of any one but the right owners, is a *mystery for Dr. Franklin to explain.* Your Lordships know the train of mischiefs which followed this concealment. After they had been left for five months to have their full operation, at length comes out a letter, which it is impossible to read without horrour, expressive of the coolest and most *deliberate malevolence.* My Lords, what poetick fiction only had penned for the breast of a *cruel African,* Dr. Franklin has realized and transcribed from *his own*—His too is the language of a *Zanga.*

> ————*Know then 'twas I,*
> *I forged the letter, I disposed the picture:*
> *I hated, I despised, and I destroy.'*——

And he now appears before your Lordships, *wrapped up in impenetrable secrecy,* to support a charge against his Majesty's Governour and Lieutenant Governour, and expects that your Lordships should advise the

punishing them on account of certain letters, *which he will not produce*, and which he *dares not tell how* he obtained. These are the lessons taught in *Dr. Franklin's school of politicks*. With regard to his Constituents, the *factious leaders at Boston*, who make this complaint against their Governours, if the *relating* of their evil doings be *criminal*, and tending to alienate his Majesty's affections, must not the *doing* of them be much more so? Yet now they ask that his Majesty will gratify and reward them for doing these things, and that he will punish their Governours for relating them, because they are so very bad that it cannot but offend his Majesty to hear of them."—Doctor Franklin bore all this with the calmness of philosophick indifference—but as he was leaving the Chamber, he whispered in the ear of the Attorney General this prophetick threat—"I will make your Master a *little* King for this."

It can hardly be necessary to add that those who could listen to *Mr. Wedderburn*, were not likely to listen to the suggestions of justice or sound policy—it was determined a few days afterwards "that the petition in question was founded upon *false* and *erroneous allegations*, and that the same is *groundless*, *vexatious*, and *scandalous*, and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the Province." His Majesty was therefore pleased to "order the said petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts to be *dismissed*."—This was the political wisdom which guided the helm of the British Government at that day, and which distinguished it for many succeeding years!

We are now to relate an event of much higher importance, and of much more serious and general con-

sequences—an event, which the wisest and most experienced statesmen of England, had predicted to Lord North, and which could not but have been foreseen by that Minister, blind, infatuated, perverse, and prejudiced as he was.

It will be recollected by the reader, that when Lord North, as one of the first acts of his wretched administration, moved for the repeal of the *Port duties*, he omitted to include the duty on TEA, for the avowed purpose of maintaining the *supremacy* of the British Parliament, and their *right* to impose a *tax* upon the Colonies. The non-importation agreement of the Americans, (particularly as it regarded this article,) which succeeded the Act of Parliament, had been so rigorously enforced, that the *East India Company* began to suffer serious inconvenience from the accumulation of their stock; and with a view to regain the advantages of the American market, they proposed to the Minister, to pay *double the amount* of the American import duty, if he would consent to repeal the Act. Whether the dispute with the Colonies would have terminated, if this proposal of the Company had been accepted, must perhaps be regarded as very problematical. It might doubtless have been so managed, as to leave an impression on the minds of the Americans, that a deference to their feelings induced the repeal, and thus the grounds of their resistance might have been removed, while the revenue of the King suffered no loss—But it was plain that an augmentation of the revenue was not the Minister's object, and that he was desirous to avoid even the semblance of concession to the strong arguments of the Colonies, whose entire subjection to the authority of Parliament, weighed more with him, than any advantages which might be gained to the kingdom, in the profits of their unfettered commerce.

Whatever were the reasons of the Minister, the offer of the East India Company remained unaccepted, until the whole progress of the negotiation became known to the Americans, and until a long series of other grievances had awakened that daring and independent spirit, which we have faintly endeavoured to portray.

When the Act at length passed, allowing the Company to export their teas, *free of duty*, they seemed determined to make up for previous loss of time, by emptying the whole contents of their overflowing warehouses, upon the American shores. *Six hundred chests* were shipped to Boston, and a like quantity to New-York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and the other large cities of the Continent, which the Company flattered themselves the Americans would receive without scruple. But the latter were no sooner apprized of the shipment, than they concerted measures to frustrate, what they regarded as a mere trick of the Ministry. In these measures *Philadelphia* took the lead—there, at a general meeting of the citizens, it was resolved, that this *new Ministerial plan* of importation was a violent attack upon the liberties of America—that it was the duty of every American to oppose it; and that whoever should *directly* or *indirectly* countenance it, was an enemy to his country."—New York followed the example of Philadelphia, and in both places the *consignees* of the Company were made to promise that they would not act. When the ships arrived, therefore, some time afterwards, at those two ports, they were ordered immediately back to England, without being permitted to break their bulk. In many other places, the captains of the ships themselves, afraid to encounter the resistance of the people, returned of their own accord to England, freighted as they

had left it. At Charleston, in South Carolina, the Tea was landed, but not permitted to be used or sold.

A scene of much greater violence was exhibited at Boston. Town meetings, newspaper essays, handbills, and all the usual means had been resorted to for the purpose of rousing the people who, it was feared by many, (from their former large importations in violation of the agreement,) would be inclined to receive the Tea. But before the arrival of the ships, they had unanimously adopted the Resolves of Philadelphia, and were ready to go all lengths to prevent the landing of the cargoes. They had indeed shown so much violence, that Mr. *Josiah Quincey* thought it necessary, at one of their town meetings, to caution them in strong terms, to look to *the issue*—"It is not (said he) Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapours within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events, which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation—Whoever supposes, that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge, which actuate our enemies publick and private, abroad and in our bosom, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest—the sharpest conflicts—to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapour, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end.—Let us weigh and consider, before we advance

to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw."

They determined, however, not to permit the tea to be landed, whatever might be the consequences. But to avoid the necessity of resorting to extremities, the Captain of the Dartmouth East Indiaman, just then arrived, was directed to make a *protest*, and apply to the Governour for the necessary papers to enable him to return without unloading. The Governour most pointedly refused, and here again evinced his anxiety to bring upon his fellow-citizens the *strong arm* of the Government. By interposing his authority, he might have prevented the excesses of the Boston populace, and perhaps have averted for years the bloody conflict which soon followed. But he was fearful, as he himself afterwards acknowledged to one of his friends, that by yielding to the "*demands of the people*, he should have *rendered himself obnoxious to his Sovereign*"—Thus constantly acting upon the notion, that the interests of the *King* and the *people* could not be one.

The moment the people were informed that the Governour would not grant a pass to the ship, an immense crowd repaired to the quay, some of whom, assuming the disguise of Mohawk Indians, very quietly boarded the ship, took out *three hundred and forty two chests of tea*, broke them open, and emptied their contents into the water. All this was done without tumult, noise, or molestation, and when their object was completed they returned peaceably to their homes.

It was the general opinion among reflecting politicians, after this event, and of all who had been careful to watch the temper of the British Ministry, that

an open rupture must speedily follow—that measures of vengeance would be adopted by the advisers of the King, which would either lead to unconditional subjection or to *independence*. Mr. *Samuel Adams* was among the small number of those who looked forward with confidence to the latter. His influence among his countrymen was deservedly great, and his exertions to inspire his own confidence in others were still greater. Many of those who had been the foremost, and the most zealous, in espousing the cause of the people against the usurpations of the Court and Parliament of Great Britain, were now gloomy and despondent at the prospect before them—they had neither a wish for independence, in its sense of *separation*, nor the smallest hope of success in the struggle, which they knew was preparing for them. They desired no more than the peaceful enjoyment of the liberties allowed to them by the British Constitution and secured to them by their Colonial Charters. For this they had been at all times ready to speak, to write, and to act; and for this, they were now willing to *fight up to their knees in blood*, if so doing could restore them to the freedom of their fathers. Further than this the great body of the people had neither expectation nor desire of proceeding. We shall see by what slow degrees a different feeling was made to predominate, and how from step to step, the grand destinies of our *nation* were unfolded.

CHAPTER VIII.

Events of 1774—Parliamentary proceedings—Boston Port Bill—Subversion of the charter—Recall of Governour Hutchinson—General Gage succeeds him—Proceedings of Virginia on the Boston Port Bill—Governour Dunmore dissolves the House of Burgesses—Proceedings of the other Colonies—Massachusetts General Court meet at Salem—1st. of June observed as a day of fasting and prayer—Secret proceedings of the General Court at Salem—Their resolve to call a General Congress—Adoption of that measure by the other Colonies, and appointment of Deputies.

We must now look to the effects produced in England by the proceedings of the Colonies, and the conduct of the people of Boston, in regard to the *Tea*. All anxiously waited for the meeting of Parliament, which was convened at Westminster on the 13th of January. But though the destruction of the Tea, at Boston, had taken place on the 16th of November of the preceding year, and though scarcely a merchant in London was ignorant of the fact, yet it seems the Ministry had not received such full information, or had not yet so satisfactorily made up their minds, as to prompt his Majesty on the subject—and the speech from the Throne contained not a word of the transaction. Nor was a hint given of what the Ministry intended to do, until the 7th of March, when Lord North presented a Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, (accompanied by numerous papers, chiefly letters from the Governour of Massachusetts) in which his Majesty was pleased to inform them that "in consequence of the unwarantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the vio-

lent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, *with a view of obstructing the commerce of this Kingdom,* and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before Parliament—recommending it to their serious consideration what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established." The Minister, on presenting the papers, took occasion to represent the conduct of the Bostonians in the blackest colours of fancy. He said, "that the *utmost lenity* on the part of the Governour, *perhaps too much,* had been already shown; and that this town by its late proceedings, had left Government perfectly at liberty to adopt *any measures they should think convenient,* not only for redressing the wrong sustained by the East India Company, but for *inflicting such punishment* as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of Parliament would be resorted to for this purpose, and for *vindicating the conduct of the Crown,* so daringly and wantonly attacked and contemned."

The temper of the House was exactly such as to suit the Minister, and it was voted "that an *address of thanks* should be presented to the King, assuring his Majesty, that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and *securing the dependence of the Colonies upon the Crown* and *Parliament of Great Britain.*" Some of the opposition were raised to a sarcastick smile at these assurances, which they said, "had been already often repeated, but that the measures hitherto adopted by Ministers for the support and *dignity of the Crown* had only exposed it to *scorn, obloquy and contempt.*—That to do the

Americans *justice*, it was necessary to trace these calamities to *their origin*, in a system of arbitrary and unwise measures *at home*." But the opposition went no further, and in a short time the Minister introduced a Bill "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of customs from Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at Boston, or within the harbour thereof." The Bill also levied a *fine* upon the town as a compensation to the East India Company for the destruction of their teas, and was to continue in force during the pleasure of the King. It was opposed by a few individuals, but finally carried in both Houses without a division.

But this was only a part of Lord North's scheme of coercion and revenge. He had two other Bills ready, which were intended to place the Province of Massachusetts *in terrorem* before the other Colonies, to deter them from following her fatal example. By one of these, the Constitution and Charter of the Province were completely subverted, all power taken out of the hands of the people, and placed in those of his most *gracious* Majesty, and all the officers of the Province made dependent on the will of the King.

This Bill excited considerable warmth of opposition in the House of Commons, but finally passed by an overwhelming majority. In the House of Lords also it met with strong opposition, which however proved equally ineffectual. Eleven peers, among whom were the *Dukes* of *Richmond* and *Portland*, and the *Marquis of Rockingham*, entered a *protest* against the decision of the House, in which they say: "Before the rights of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which they

derive from their Charter, are taken away, the *definite legal offence* by which a forfeiture of that Charter is incurred, *ought to have been clearly* stated and the *parties heard in their own defence;* and the mere celerity of a decision against it will not reconcile the mass of the people to that mode of government which is to be established upon its ruins. On the general allegations of a declaratory preamble, the rights of any publick body may be taken away, and any visionary scheme of government be substituted in their place. By this Bill, the Governour and Council are invested with dangerous powers, *unknown to the British Constitution,* and with which the *King himself is not entrusted.* By the appointment and removal of the Sheriff at pleasure, they have the means of returning such Juries as may best suit with the gratification of their passions and interests; the life, liberty, and property of the subject, are put into their hands without control. The weak, injudicious, and inconsistent measures of the Ministry have given new force to the distractions of America, which on the repeal of the Stamp Act were subsiding; have revived dangerous questions, and gradually estranged the affections of the Colonies from the Mother Country. To render the Colonies permanently advantageous, they must be satisfied with their condition. That satisfaction there is no chance of restoring, but by recurring to the principles on which the repeal of the Stamp Act was founded."

The third scheme of Lord North was a *Bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts.* The provisions of this Bill were somewhat similar to those of the Act of Henry VIII. the revival of which had created such loud clamour in the Colonies a few years before; with this difference, however, that this

Bill was designed to bring his Majesty's officers, who should commit murder in the execution of their official duties, to England for trial, lest the Juries of the Colony should prove too impartial to let them escape justice—whereas the Act of Henry VIII. was intended to convey those accused of sedition, to the immediate vicinity of his Majesty for trial, for reasons the reverse of justice.

This Bill likewise met with strong but ineffectual opposition in both Houses. Colonel Barrè, to whose honest independence of feeling, the Americans had been often indebted for defence and support, again ranged himself on the side of justice and the Colonies, and concluded a long and animated speech in these words; "You have *changed your ground. You* are becoming the *aggressors* and offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them in effect to *military execution*. Instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent them the naked sword. By the olive branch, I mean a *repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you*, and *oppressive to them*. Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. *They never yet refused it, when properly required.* Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general necessities of the State. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that *by force*, which you may *more certainly* procure *by requisition?* They *may be flattered* into any thing, but they are *too much like yourselves to be driven*. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; *respect their sturdy English virtue;* retract your odious exertions of authority; and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government."

How different would have been the present relations of America and the English Government, if sentiments like these could have been infused into the Ministry. But Lord North was running too rapidly down the precipice of folly, to be checked by the mild admonitions of truth and wisdom. He had passed the Rubicon, and the glories of victory fluttered in his dazzled view.

The noblemen before mentioned joined also in a protest against this bill in the House of Peers, in which with much spirit they declared that the whole plan of remodelling the government of the Colony was but a confession of the weakness of Parliament, and a humiliating acknowledgment that the British Government had been odious to the people of the Colonies.—The first, or Boston Port Bill, as it was called, received the royal assent on the 31st of March; and the two last on the 20th of May.

Lord Chatham, who had been prevented from attending the House, by the feeble state of his health, while these Bills were under consideration, took occasion, while another subject was before them, just before the close of the Session, to deliver his sentiments on American affairs, in a manner which showed that sickness had neither enfeebled his mental powers, nor changed his opinion with regard to the erroneous measures of Administration. His speech included all that could be said on this occasion, and in language so much better than our own, that we rejoice at the opportunity of using it.

"If, my Lords, we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplor-

ed regions of the western world, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the globe to which they would not have fled, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical spirit which prevailed at that period in their native country; and viewing them in their original forlorn and now flourishing state, they may be cited as illustrious instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when left to the free exercise of their own powers. Notwithstanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the question now before you, I condemn, my Lords, in the severest manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans, in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston; but, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty, is so diametrically opposite to every principle of sound policy, as to excite my utmost astonishment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common punishment, and avenge the crime of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants. My Lords, the different Provinces of America, in the excess of their gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of loyalty and duty; but the moment they perceived that your intention to tax them was renewed, under a pretence of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions which their cool reason would abhor. But, my Lords, from the whole complexion of the late proceedings, I cannot but incline to think, that Administration has purposely irritated them into these violent acts, in order to gratify their own malice and revenge. What else could

induce them to dress Taxation, the father of American Sedition, in the robes of an East India Director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then so happily subsisted between the Colonies and the Mother Country. My Lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country had no right under heaven, to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy: it is contrary to that essential, unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the British Constitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken away from him, without his consent. Pass then, my Lords, instead of these harsh and severe edicts, an amnesty over their errours: by measures of lenity and affection allure them to their duty; act the part of a generous and forgiving parent. A period may arrive, when this parent may stand in need of every assistance she can receive from a grateful and affectionate offspring. The welfare of this country, my Lords, has ever been my greatest joy, and under all the vicissitudes of my life has afforded me the most pleasing consolation. Should the all disposing hand of Providence prevent me from contributing my poor and feeble aid in the day of her distress, my prayers shall be ever for her prosperity:—'Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour! May her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace!'"

It was in the course of this session that *Mr. Burke*, (of whom it was said by General Lee in a letter to one of his correspondents eight years before—"An Irishman, *one Mr. Burke* is *sprung up* in the House of

Commons, who has astonished every body with the power of his eloquence, and comprehensive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politics"—) for the first time, delivered his sentiments on the course of policy which had been pursued by Ministers, in regard to America. After drawing the most animated portraits of several of the distinguished leaders of Administration, he closed with Lord Chatham, to the measures of whose "chequered and speckled," "crossly indented, and whimsically dove-tailed" *Cabinet* he attributed the mischiefs, which he now considered as almost incurable. But the speech of Mr. Burke was intended more to display his own eloquence than to support the cause of the Colonies.

Having now seen what was done in England, in consequence of the destruction of the East India Company's *Tea*, at Boston, we shall proceed to detail the effects of those measures upon the people of the Colonies. The *recall* of Mr. Hutchinson, which was brought by his *successor*, General Gage, who further signalized his arrival by being the bearer of the Boston Port Bill, was a circumstance as unexpected by his Excellency, as it was agreeable to the people of the Province. Like his predecessor *Bernard*, he had made it appear by every act of his administration, that the *royal prerogative*, and the *dignity of the Crown*, were dearer to him than the interests of the people—that the respect and love of his fellow subjects, weighed but a feather in the scale, with *royal* favour—and that he was too proud to ask obedience, where he could exert the power of enforcing submission. It was indeed a severe blow to the pride of Mr. Hutchinson, that he should be considered by his royal master, for whose sake he had consented to sacrifice all that could

render retrospect pleasing, as an unfit instrument for the execution of the new scheme of coercion. It was but little consolation to his wounded feelings, to be told that it was the design of the Ministry to replace him in the government, after affairs had been adjusted and order restored, by General Gage—He thought himself quite as competent as General Gage, and could not but feel mortified to find, that the Ministry thought otherwise. A few of his tools and partisans procured an *address of thanks* to be sent to him, and with this meagre evidence of approbation he soon after took his departure for England.

General Gage, though it appeared that he entertained serious apprehensions of some disorderly or disrespectful conduct on the part of the people, was nevertheless received by them, with every mark of civility. He had soon occasion to perceive, however, that their politeness to him did not proceed from any fear of his authority, or from any relaxation in their purposes of resistance. On the day after his arrival a town meeting was convened and very numerously attended, at which it was "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this town, that if the other Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from and exportation to Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the Act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the Act, exceed all our powers of expression: We therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and *appeal* to God and the world."

The Legislature of Virginia was the only one in session when the Boston Port Bill arrived, and their sense of it was immediately expressed by the follow-

order. "This House being deeply impressed with prehension of the great dangers, to be derived to ritish America, from the hostile invasion of the city Boston, in our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay, hose commerce and harbour are on the 1st day of une next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it ighly necessary that the said 1st day of June next, be set apart by the members of this House, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war: to give us one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his Majesty and his Parliament, may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger, from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin.

"Ordered, therefore, That the members of this House do attend at their places, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said 1st day of June next, in order to proceed with the Speaker and the Mace, to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the reverend Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion."

Governour *Dunmore*, the successor of *Bottetourt*, conceiving that this Order *reflected* "highly upon his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain," dissolved the House on the following day. But as upon a former occasion, the members, to the number of *eighty nine*, formed themselves into an *association*, and unanimously adopted the following manifesto.

"We, *his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects*, the late representatives of the good people of this Colony, having been deprived, by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them, in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen, such measures as, in our opinion, are best fitted to secure our dear rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America. With much grief, we find that our dutiful applications to Great Britain for the security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have not only been disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pursued, for reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives: and that, in pursuit of this system, we find an Act of the British Parliament, lately passed, for the stopping the harbour and the commerce of the town of Boston, in our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes; and which Act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharves erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense; which Act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America. It is further our opinion, that as Tea, on its importation into America, is charged with a duty imposed by Parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue without the consent of the people, it ought not be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and

liberties of British America. And whereas the India Company have ungenerously attempted to ruin America, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the Colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favour of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper, and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, not to purchase or use any kind of East India commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre and spices, until the grievances of America are redressed. We are further clearly of opinion, that an attack made upon one of our sister Colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the committee of correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several Colonies of British America, to meet in General Congress, at such a place, annually, as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may, from time to time, require.

A tender regard for the interests of our fellow-subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going further at this time; most earnestly hoping, that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with great Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends, the late representatives of Virginia."

This association was formed on the 27th of May, only *two days* after the meeting of the General Court

of Massachusetts, and of course before any interchange of views could have taken place between the two Colonies. This is worthy of remark, as being the second instance of an extraordinary coincidence in the measures adopted and recommended by the people of these two distant Colonies. But one feeling seemed to animate them; and to the immortal honour of Virginia it must be said, that all her measures proceeded from the purest and most disinterested patriotism. The people of that Colony had remained free from the oppressions under which Massachusetts was made to groan. The tyranny of the Ministers had not extended to them. They had been, for the most part, blessed with Governours who knew how to estimate their characters—who could distinguish between loyalty and servility, resistance and sedition; and who, instead of the base exaggerations which characterized the correspondence of *Bernard* and *Hutchinson*, took care in their letters to the Ministry, to place to their proper account the little commotions which occasionally attended the popular harangues and resolves. To sympathy then in the sufferings of their brethren of Massachusetts, to that liberal patriotism, which could extend its views beyond the narrow confines of Colonial policy, and to that profound political wisdom which could discern the intimate and necessary connexion between the whole and its parts, must be attributed the early, vigorous, and continued opposition of Virginia to measures which concerned her only in their distant and possible contingencies.

Similar expressions of determined opposition to the Port Bill, and assurances of support to the disfranchised citizens of Boston, were made wherever the Act became known. In some places it was printed

upon *mourning* paper, and hawked about the streets—in others it was publickly burned, with every demonstration of abhorrence. At New York there was a considerable struggle between the friends of Administration and the friends of liberty, but the latter at length prevailed, by the influence and *management* of two individuals, who had on several occasions manifested great activity and zeal, in their opposition to the obnoxious measures of the Ministry. These two gentlemen were Captain *Sears*, and Mr. *M'Dougal*, a native of *Scotland;* the latter of whom, it will be remembered, had been *imprisoned* without trial, in the year 1770, for having written an address to the "*betrayed* inhabitants of the city and Colony of New York." He was confined for three months; but such was the estimation in which his character was held, that his prison was daily crowded with visitors of the first respectability, of both sexes. He was released at last, *without trial*, in February 1771, and on many occasions afterwards headed the *sons of liberty* in their quarrels with his Majesty's soldiery.

These two individuals, having first written to the Committee of Boston, pledging to them the support of New York, procured a meeting of the people, at which it was agreed that a *congress* was necessary; and a committee was appointed to propose it to the Boston Committee.

Addresses were also sent from Pennsylvania, the Carolinas and some other Provinces, to the Committee of Boston, assuring them of support, and declaring that they considered the cause of Boston as the common cause of the country.

With all these assurances of support and assistance, of sympathy and affection, from their sister Colonies,

there was still a fearful foreboding, a nameless apprehension, in the hearts of the members of the General Court, when they assembled at Boston on the 25th of May. Nor was this apprehension lessened by the first official act of their new Governour. Out of twenty eight persons, whom the Legislature had with one voice nominated as counsellors, and for whose appointment the sanction of the Governour was requisite, General Gage, as if determined at one sweep to brush the whole catalogue of patriots from any participation in the publick business, erased *thirteen* of the names. Among these were, Mr. *James Bowdoin*, the correspondent and friend of *Franklin*, *John Winthrop*, *James Otis*, the man who so nobly recanted the errours which first led him to espouse the party of the King, and gave a pledge of his future support to the people on the memorable occasion of the *circular letter*—a pledge which he faithfully and honourably redeemed; and *John Adams*, whose conduct on the trial of Captain Preston and the soldiers, we have already mentioned. These gentlemen had rendered themselves hateful to *Bernard* and *Hutchinson*, the poison of whose malice had been infused into the feelings of their successsour, and they were honoured with this distinguished mark of his Excellency's notice.

The Assembly, indignant at this extensive negative upon their choice, proceeded to the ordinary business of the Province, without deigning to enter into any new appointments; but they were soon interrupted by the Governour, who adjourned them to meet *at Salem* on the 7th of June. On the 1st of June, it will be recollected, the Boston Port Bill was to take effect; the interim therefore was employed by the Governour in removing himself, and all the officers of the Crown, to

their new place of operations. In a few days the aspect of that populous and busy town was entirely changed. A dull and solemn silence succeeded to the lively throng of the streets, and the quays so lately crowded with the fruits of extended commerce, now presented one unvaried scene of forsaken repositories.

In most of the Colonies, particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania, the 1st of June was observed, according to the recommendation of the Virginia Assembly, as a day of fasting and prayer. Business was at a stand, and the citizens in mournful silence looked forward to a day of brighter hopes, of glorious retribution.

The new Governour was received at Salem with cold and distant respect by the body of the people, and as usual with flattering congratulations by the creatures of the Crown. The first act of the Legislature, which had met here according to adjournment, was the appointment of a Committee to consider the *state of the Province*. *Samuel Adams* and *James Warren* were of this Committee, and to their indefatigable zeal and ingenious management, was owing the bold and spirited course ultimately adopted by the House. They saw that the point to which they had arrived was critical—was one that demanded vigorous and decisive measures; and that it was one too that required *unanimity*. This was to be obtained only by secret and private conferences with each leading member of the House; it was important that the minds of the Assembly should be made up and fully ascertained, before the question of their report could be hazarded—and it was above all important, that the Governour and his whole crew of busy informers should remain ignorant of their proceedings and designs. All this was accomplished by

the laborious exertions of these two men, aided by *John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Payne,* and two or three other worthy compatriots; and in the course of three days, their resolutions were drawn, their committee formed, and all prepared for the decision of the House. So minutely had the Committee entered into every consideration, to avoid the delay which would attend any debates in the House, that they had calculated the expense of sending their Committee to the Congress which they had proposed, and pointed out the means of raising the fund to pay them. When they were at length ready to deliver their report to the House, it was proposed that it should be read with *closed doors;* that none should be permitted either to enter or to leave the House.

When the Committee had proceeded so far in the reading of their report as that its design and purport became intelligible, a parasite of the Governour, one of those midnight Ministerial prowlers, who fed upon the droppings of *sedition,* was suddenly seized with an uncontrollable *call of nature.* Humanity opened the door to this bursting informer, and in a few minutes he discharged his burden in the astonished ears of the Governour. His Excellency with panting haste ordered his Secretary to fly and proclaim the House dissolved. But the doors were still locked, and the Secretary's loud call for entrance, in the name of the Captain General of all his Majesty's forces, was unregarded. Finding no alternative, the Secretary read his proclamation of dissolution to the *Door-keeper,* and then passed into the Council Chamber, where he repeated it to the assembled Council, and thus effected the object of his embassy. But the deed had been done, the vote of the House had been taken, they had

entered upon the threshold of *rebellion*. This took place on the 17th of June.

The House had resolved upon the expediency of having a *Congress* at Philadelphia, on the first day of the ensuing September, and had appointed as their delegates *Thomas Cushing, James Bowdoin, Robert Treat Payne, Samnel Adams,* and *John Adams.*

While these things were doing in Massachusetts, meetings had been held in all the counties of *Maryland,* and committees appointed to meet at the City of Annapolis on the 25th of June. At which time and place the following deputies were chosen to attend a general Congress, when and wherever it might be agreed upon: *Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, William Paca,* and *Samuel Chase.*

South Carolina was the next to join in the general plan. A meeting of the people from every part of the Colony was held at *Charleston* on the 6th of July. At which, after passing a number of resolutions, approbatory of the proceedings at Boston, five gentlemen were appointed as deputies to the Congress; viz. *Henry Middleton, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge,* and *Edward Rutledge.*

In Pennsylvania a petition was presented to Governour Penn by a numerous body of citizens praying him to convoke the general Assembly, that they might take into consideration the measures which had been adopted by Virginia and Massachusetts; but that cautious and peaceable Magistrate refused to grant the prayer of the petitioners, and a convention of the Colony was immediately called. At this convention a manifesto was agreed upon, in which the grievances of Massachusetts, and the general distress of the Colonies, were eloquently and feelingly set forth, and

the necessity of a general Congress strongly urged. They recommended to the General Assembly at its approaching meeting to appoint deputies and conclude with declaring "that that Province will break off all commercial intercourse whatever, with any town, city, or colony and individuals in them, *who shall refuse, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution, such general plan as shall be agreed upon in the Congress.*"

This was going one step further than any of the Provinces had done, and proved, notwithstanding the unsuspected loyalty of the orderly and peaceable inhabitants of that Province, that the love of peace and constitutional liberty was the master feeling of the people. The General Assembly on the 22d. of July confirmed their proceedings by appointing the following gentlemen as deputies to the Congress, viz. *John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, John Morton,* and *George Ross.*"

The Legislature of Connecticut appointed a committee of nine, with full power to Act for them in their recess, and if the Congress should be agreed upon, to choose any number of delegates they might think proper. The persons chosen by this Committee were, *Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane.*

In *Virginia,* the delegates from the several counties met at Williamsburgh on the 1st of August. Most of them came with instructions, from their several constituents, to proceed to every extremity in support of Boston, as suffering in a *common cause:* and the resolutions which were entered into by these delegates prove that they were ready to proceed *to every extremity*—ready to make any sacrifice, to relieve their

bretheren of Boston, and to preserve their own freedom. They appointed *Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison* and *Edmond Pendleton*, deputies to the Congress—a deputation which united all the rare excellencies that Heaven ever bestowed upon man in their brightest and fullest energy—This chosen band of patriots received from their constituents the following instructions.

"The unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies, which began about the third year of the reign of his present Majesty, and since continually increasing, have proceeded to lengths so dangerous and alarming, as to excite just apprehensions in the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colony, that they are in danger of being deprived of their natural, ancient, constitutional, and chartered rights, have compelled them to take the same into their most serious consideration; and, being deprived of their usual and accustomed mode of making known their grievances, have appointed us their representatives, to consider what is proper to be done in this dangerous crisis of American affairs. It being our opinion that the united wisdom of North America should be collected in a general Congress of all the Colonies, we have appointed [the gentlemen above named] deputies to represent this Colony in the said Congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the first Monday of September next. And that they may be the better informed of our sentiments touching the conduct we wish them to observe on this important occasion, we desire that they will express, in the first place, our faith and our allegiance to his Majesty King George the third, our lawful and rightful sovereign; and that we are determined, with our

lives and fortunes, to support him in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. And, however misrepresented, we sincerely approve of a constitutional connexion with Great Britain, and wish most ardently a returu of that intercourse of affection and commercial connexion that formerly united both countries; which can only be effected by a removal of those causes of discontent which have of late unhappily divided us.

"It cannot admit of a doubt, but that British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow subjects possess in Britain; and therefore that the power assumed by the British parliament to bind America by their statutes, in all cases whatever, is unconstitutional, and the source of these unhappy differences.

"The end of government would be defeated, by the British Parliament exercising a power over the lives, the property, and the liberty of American subjects, who are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, there represented. Of this nature, we consider the several Acts of Parliament for raising a revenue in America, for the extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty, for seizing American subjects, and transporting them to Britain, to be tried for crimes committed in America, and the several late oppressive Acts respecting the town of Boston, and Province of Massachusetts Bay.

"The original constitution of the American Colonies, possessing their Assemblies with the sole right of directing their internal policy, it is absolutely destructive to the end of their institution, that their legislatures should be suspended, or prevented by hasty dissolutions, from exercising their legislative powers.

"Wanting the protection of Britain, we have long acquiesced in their Acts of navigation, restrictive of our commerce, which we consider as an ample recompense for such protection; but as those Acts derive their efficacy from that foundation alone, we have reason to expect they will be restrained, so as to produce the reasonable purposes of Britain, and not be injurious to us.

"To obtain redress of these grievances, without which the people of America can neither be safe, free, nor happy, they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them from stopping all imports whatsoever from Great Britain, after the first day of November next, and also to cease exporting any commodity whatsoever to the same place, after the 10th day of August 1775. The earnest desire we have to make as quick and full payment as possible of our debts to Great Britain, and to avoid the heavy injury that would arise to this country, from an earlier adoption of the non-importation plan, after the people have already applied so much of their labour to the perfecting of the present crop, by which means they have been prevented from pursuing other methods of clothing and supporting their families, have rendered it necessary to restrain you in this article of non-exportation; but it is our desire that you cordially cooperate with our sister Colonies in general Congress, in such other just and proper methods as they, or the majority, shall deem necessary for the accomplishment of these valuable ends.

"The proclamation issued by general Gage, in the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, declaring it treason for the inhabitants of that Province to assemble themselves to consider of their grievances.

and form associations for their common conduct on the occasion, and requiring the civil magistrates and officers to apprehend all such persons to be tried for their supposed offences, is the most alarming process that ever appeared in a British government; the said general Gage has thereby assumed and taken upon himself powers denied by the constitution to our legal Sovereign; he not having condescended to disclose by what authority he exercises such extensive and unheard of powers, we are at a loss to determine whether he intends to justify himself as the representative of the king; or as the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in America. If he considers himself as acting in the character of his Majesty's representative, we would remind him that the statute 20th Edward III. has expressed and defined all treasonable offences, and that the Legislature of Great Britain hath declared that no offence shall be construed to be treason, but such as is pointed out by that statute; and that this was done to take out of the hands of tyrannical Kings, and of weak and wicked Ministers, that deadly weapon which constructive treason had furnished them with, and which had drawn the blood of the best and honestest men in the kingdom; and that the King of Great Britain hath no right by his proclamatoin to subject his people to imprisonment, pains and penalties.

"That if the said general Gage conceives he is empowered to act in this manner, as the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in America, this odious and illegal proclamation must be considered as a plain and full declaration that this despotick Viceroy will be bound by no law, nor regard the constitutional rights of his Majesty's subjects, wherever they interfere with

the plans he has formed for oppressing the good people of the Massachusetts Bay; and therefore, that the executing, or attempting to execute such proclamation, will justify resistance and reprisal."

In the little Colony of Rhode Island, where the remembrance of vexations and wrongs done to themselves, awakened a lively sympathy for those of their brethren, the measures adopted by the people, were in the highest degree firm and spirited. And it is by no means unworthy of remark, that the *motto* under which they formed themselves into a phalanx of defence, was precisely the same in its import with that which had been adopted in one of the counties of Virginia, almost at the same instant of time. *United we stand, divided we fall*, was the significant instruction of the people of Hanover, in Virginia, to their delegates: *Join or die* was the simultaneous cry of the whole people of *Rhode Island*. The deputies to the general Congress, chosen by their House of Assembly, were *Stephen Hopkins* and *Samuel Ward*.

In all the other Colonies the Governours had taken care to prevent the meeting of their Legislatures, so that the task of choosing deputies to Congress was left with the people. It could not have been left in better hands. Georgia was the only one of the thirteen Colonies that refused or neglected to unite in the common cause.

We have already mentioned by what means the people of *New York* were induced to consent to the Congress. The friends of Government in that Province, though perhaps more than equal in number to the *sons of liberty*, were completely outwitted by the dexterous management of two sturdy and active patriots, who carried the Resolve to appoint a committee by a

political *ruse*, that did much credit to their sagacity. The deputies from that Province were *Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, James Duane, William Floyd, Henry Weisner, and Samuel Bocrum.*

The people of NEW HAMPSHIRE chose *John Sullivan*, and *Nathaniel Folsom.*

From NEW JERSEY, *James Kinsey, William Livingston, Stephen Crane, and Richard Smith, were sent.*

DELAWARE, sent *Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean*, and *George Read.*

And NORTH CAROLINA, *William Hooper, Joseph Hewes*, and *R. Caswell.*

Within a short time after the dissolution of the General Court at Salem—the last that was ever dissolved or convened by order of one of his Majesty's officers—while the people, from one extreme of the Continent to the other, were uniting in expressions of abhorrence at the tyranny of closing the port of Boston, intelligence of the subsequent measures of Parliament reached the Continent. These new sources of grievance, it may be supposed, did not abate the ardour of the Americans in preparing to succour their distressed bretheren of Boston. The *impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts*, which was ridiculously asserted to be the object of one of the new Bills, was an actual overthrow of every thing like justice, as well sa a complete subversion of all its forms. It placed every citizen of the Province at the mercy of a Military Governour, who was surrounded by the armed instruments of his will, more eager if possible than himself to glut their vengeance in blood; and who by the law itself were in reality *authorised to murder* whom they might.

The Bill "for quartering troops in America" was but a more vigorous prosecution of the measure some years before adopted, and from which the two Colonies of Massachusetts and New York had already suffered so much. The effect of this renovation of their former scheme of coercion was soon, however, more seriously felt, in the arrival of *Admiral Graves* at Boston, with a large squadron of ships of the line, and transports laden with troops and military stores, to reinforce his Excellency the Captain General's command. These troops not only took possession of the grounds in the vicinity of Boston, but considerable numbers were actually encamped within the town itself.

There was still another Bill farcically purporting to be "for the *better regulating* the government of the Province of Massachusetts." It would have been readily admitted that "*better* regulations" were much wanted in that government; but the Bill now offered was intended to make that *worse*, which was already *bad*. If his Majesty had *withdrawn* all the *Crown* officers from the Province, instead of adding so largely to their number, the greater portion of the grievances of the people, which actually flowed from the conduct of those officers, would have been of course removed. But the Bills proceeding from the fertile ingenuity of Lord North, would be ill understood, if judged of from their specious and imposing titles.

It is hardly possible to conceive the extent of distress brought upon the people of Boston, by the extraordinary provisions of the Bill for shutting up that port. Nor was this distress confined to the people of Boston—being the metropolis of the Province, and at that time the most important commercial mart of the

Colonies, the calamities that were heaped upon Boston, were necessarily felt by the whole Province, and in a greater or less degree by all the other Provinces. Thousands of people from the country, whose families depended for subsistence, upon their employment in labour by the merchants and traders of Boston, were, by the operations of this destroying Bill, reduced to idleness, beggary, and want. For the Act had been so sudden in its effect, that no time was allowed to those oppressed people to seek for employment elsewhere, even if employment elsewhere had been to be found—the first notice of this unprecedented scheme of Parliamentary vengeance, was received at Boston on the 10th of May, thus giving the short interval of *three weeks* to prepare for the total subversion of accustomed habits, and the overwhelming tide of ruin, which the 1st of June was destined to bring with it.

And all this widely extending misery was devised, by the counsellors of a civilized and enlightened nation, not to punish an act of *treason* against the Majesty of the King, by the town of Boston, but an act of *trespass* by a few individuals, against the property of the Honourable East India Company!—It was a case which should have been tried in a Collonial Court of justice, and not an act which demanded the interference of the Lords and Commons of the empire. A Colonial Court of justice would have known how to separate the guilty from the innocent; and evidences enough had been already given to show, that the people of the Colonies understood, and practised *justice*, in the strictest sense of the term,—with honest impartiality. The Parliament of Great Britain, in their zeal to punish, overlooked the plain dictates of justice, and confounded the innocent with the

guilty—They lost sight of all *existing* laws, the penalties of which had been formed by sober dispassionate reason, and by a new enactment, flowing from the ebullitions of passion, they created a new punishment, more proportionate to the measureless extent of their own revenge, than to the limited nature of the offence committed.

It is a maxim of common sense, if not of common law, that all crimes should be punished according to the provisions of laws enacted before the commission of the crimes. It is obvious, that the attainment of justice would be otherwise difficult, if not altogether impossible, from the nature of man; who is much oftener the slave than the master of his passions, and who is much more ready to listen to the suggestions of revenge, than to the dictates of sober reason. The conduct of the individuals, at Boston, who in the disguise of Mohawk Indians threw into the water a few chests of Tea, could have amounted to no more than a *riot*, viewed in its most illiberal construction—a riot too in which but a small number of persons were engaged, and which in its object and result, affected none but *private* interests. And yet for this trespass of a few, many were punished—not by any known law of the land, but by an Act of Parliament made for the purpose. For the indiscretion of twenty or thirty daring rioters, as many thousands of innocent, unoffending citizens, were made to suffer privations and distresses, which Nero would have shuddered to inflict.

But the Law, which was intended to deprive the citizens of Boston of all the *benefits of law*—which held them up to their neighbours and friends as examples to be hated and avoided—which would have cut them

off from all social and friendly intercourse with their brethren of Massachusetts and the sister Colonies—this law failed of its intended effect. Where it was hoped to excite a deadly rivalship, there all selfish interests were forgotten in sympathy and kindness. The towns of *Salem* and *Marblehead*, to their imperishable fame, refused to accept the advantages which would have raised them above their fallen neighbour. The former of these patriotick towns nobly avowed to their Governour that they had no desire to build up a commercial importance upon the ruins of their Capitol. The generous and hardy fishermen of *Marblehead* offered their wharves and their warehouses to the use of the Boston merchants. Every where the same disinterested spirit of brotherly affection prevailed—All the large towns of the Continent vied with each other in offers of assistance to the wandering citizens of Boston. Throughout three millions of people, there was a display of sympathy and kindness, honourable to human nature. It was an exhibition of union, of practical Christian benevolence and charity, which no other age, no other country, ever before witnessed.

Forbidden by the Law to convey any thing to Boston *by water*, the few who remained in town to carry on their accustomed trade, were compelled to cart their goods from *Marblehead* or *Salem*, by the way of *Cambridge* and *Roxbury*. To estimate the trouble, expense, and difficulty of this circuitous route, it should be known that the town of Boston stands on a peninsula connected with the main by a narrow slip of land leading into *Roxbury*, which adjoins it on the *South*. The ports from which the goods were thus carted lay to the *North*; and to avoid the penalties of the law which forbid their crossing the narrow wa-

ter which separated this end of the town from the main, they were compelled to make the whole circuit of the peninsula and enter it by the narrow slip just mentioned. In addition to these troubles and difficulties, guards of soldiers were stationed at every entrance to the town, before whom it was necessary to undergo an examination, and by whom the peaceable passengers were harrassed and questioned at every turn.

But the high, patriotick, noble spirit of the people of Boston, was not to be crushed by these or any oppressions. They struggled with heroick fortitude and patience against every added evil, and while their oppressors were fondly flattering themselves that they must at length sink under their calamities, they were quietly preparing to rise in the majesty of their united strength, and claim an acknowledgement of their rights, at the sacrifice of their lives. A martial spirit seemed to infuse itself into the whole people at once. Those who had been accustomed to use their guns only for amusement, now learned to use them as soldiers—those who had never before handled a musket, now made it the business of the day to learn its excercise; and while the husbands were employed in these labours and excercises, their wives were preparing the ammunition.

In the midst of these preparations, and while the whole people of the Province seemed to consider their Charter as dissolved, his Majesty's new Crown officers attempted to enter upon the duties of their new appointments. Many of the new Counsellors refused to accept—Jurors refused to take the oath, or to serve under the new state of things—The Courts of Justice were suspended—and the people with one accord refused to acknowledge any regulations but those which

their charter prescribed. And as if an all wise Providence had decreed that no interval of calm should allay this noble feeling of independence, on the 1st of September, the Governour ordered a military force to possess themselves of the powder which belonged to the Provincial Arsenal at *Charlestown*, opposite to Boston. The report of this hostile movement, as it was considered, occasioned an assemblage of the people in arms at Cambridge, to the number of several thousand, who were scarcely restrained by their more prudent brethren from an immediate attack on the King's troops at Boston. Out of this first rumour and its consequences grew another which spread still more extensively, that the fleet were actually bombarding the town; and upwards of *thirty thousand* men, were on their way to Boston in the course of two days. These appearances occasioned some alarm to the Governour, and the host of his Majesty's new officers at Salem, who under the fear that they could not be safe at such a distance from the troops, in a few days returned with all the appurtenances of office to the outlawed town of Boston.

CHAPTER IX.

[illegible] of General Gage—Meeting [illegible] Cadets disband them- [illegible] resolutions thereof— [illegible] Declaration of Rights—Arti- [illegible] to the King and people—General [illegible] Court—Countermands the [illegible] to form a provincial Congress— [illegible] of the other Colonies.

The [illegible] very soon after the arrival of [illegible] possession of and fortified the isth- [illegible] which connects the towns of Bos- [illegible] called *Boston Neck*—the only en- [illegible] town of Boston, and therefore [illegible] according to the Port Bill, [illegible] could carry on their busi- [illegible] This [illegible] thus guarding the only [illegible] with the main land, was the [illegible] of the soldiers: but a single cen- [illegible] effectually answered this purpose [illegible] This the soldiers did desert [illegible] as frequently after [illegible] as before, is equally [illegible] many of the newly arrived [illegible] being made the instru- [illegible] to their fellow subjects and [illegible] an irksome one on [illegible] means in the power of the [illegible] from receiving supplies of provisions and every other article of neces- [illegible] which they were dependent upon the country;

and so ingenious were the countrymen in the *invention* of *accidents*, that scarcely a cart laden with military stores got safe to town. The consequence was that the soldiers suffered many hardships which they endeavoured to escape by desertion.

But it was evident that the Governour's motive for fortifying the Neck was not that which he assigned. He hoped by keeping a body of soldiers continually in the view of the citizens, to awe them into submission to the new regulations. Such indeed had been the object of all the measures of his two predecessours; and their want of success should have taught General Gage the folly of the experiment. This measure served only the more to exasperate the people, and the subsequent seizure of their powder proved that his Excellency designed something more than a mere menace.

The people of *Suffolk* county, therefore, soon after this occurrence, in defiance of the Act of Parliament and his Excellency's proclamation, forbidding all publick assemblies, held a meeting, and adopted several spirited resolutions, by which they declared themselves constitutionally exempt from all obedience to the late measures of the British Parliament, that the government of the Province was in fact dissolved, and that they should consider all persons who dared to act in any official capacity under the new regulations as open enemies of their country.

We omitted to mention, while on the subject of Parliamentary proceedings in the preceding chapter, that one of the last measures of the session was an Act making *more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec*. Though it would seem at first sight that the operations of this Act could not

possibly affect the interests of the Colonies south of the Lakes, yet it was so managed as to leave a conviction in the minds of all the Colonists, that the fate of Quebec was but the prelude to their own. Besides that by this act the boundaries of the Province were extended considerably beyond the limits assigned to it by the treaty of 1763, the Government of Quebec was converted into the most odious despotism, and the Catholick Clergy placed upon a footing in direct hostility to the genius and spirit of the English Constitution, and the sentiments and principles of the American Colonies. This could not fail to alarm them for the safety of the Protestant religion, the free enjoyment of which according to the dictates of their own consciences, had been the chief cause of the first emigrations. Hence in all subsequent meetings of the people, as well as in the proceedings of the Congress, this subject was mentioned as one of the grievances of which they had to complain.

The people of *Suffolk* showed by their proceedings that their opposition to the measures of Government was not prompted by a licentious disposition to quarrel for trifles. They recommended, on the contrary, a decent, quiet and orderly behaviour to their fellow citizens, and sent an address to the Governour, dictated by a spirit of firmness which convinced him that they would *defend* their rights to the utmost. They sent a copy of their Resolves, and of their letter to the Governour, with his answer, to the Congress at Philadelphia, upon whose judgment they rested the decision of their future conduct.

The Governour, about the same time, deprived Mr. *Hancock* of his commission as Colonel of the corps of *Cadets*—a volunteer company of gentlemen of the first

respectability in the town of Boston who acted merely in the complimentary service of the Governour's guard—This disrespect to their Colonel was immediately resented by the corps, who returned the Standard which had been presented to them by his Excellency, and disbanded themselves. Another instance of the same spirit occurred in the resignation of nearly all the officers of a Provincial regiment, because their Colonel had accepted a seat in the new Council.

This was the spirit which prevailed through the whole country when on the 5th day of September the deputies of *twelve* Colonies met at the city of Philadelphia. The Ministry of England had constantly assured the King and their friends at home, in which assurance they were strengthened by the representations of *Bernard* and *Hutchinson*, that an *union* among the people of the Colonies was an idle fear—that their interests as well as their *cowardice* would prevent their ever uniting in a regular system of operation—that the riotous disposition which evinced itself, was the ferment of a few, which would subside upon the first appearance of his Majesty's troops—and that it would only be necessary to secure a few designing men who led them on, to ensure the return of tranquility among the cowardly boasters, whom *too much lenity* had rendered bold.

What an answer to the vile insinuations of the Ministry, to the contemptible fabrications of the two ex-Governours, was this assemblage of the best and wisest men, armed with the respective authority of twelve out of thirteen Colonies, to deliberate upon the best means of securing their *common rights !*—The hopes and the fears of North America now centered in this Congress—upon their decisions the people of the Colonies had

pledged themselves to depend; by their counsels to act; by their judgments to abide. A more interesting, a more awful crisis, cannot be imagined. The deputies themselves felt the full weight of the responsibility which rested upon them. They had assumed the solemn task of fixing the destinies of a nation. Men were now here to act together, who had never met before. Various conflicting interests, passions, principles, might arise to mar the wisest schemes of unanimity, and upon that alone must depend all the good which they could hope to effect. They looked to each other for consolation and confidence, and the God of nations imparted courage to proceed.

Virginia had the honour to give a President to this first Continental Congress, *Peyton Randolph*, Esquire,—and *Charles Thompson*, of Pennsylvania, was chosen Secretary. Having thus organized themselves as a regular Assembly, *Patrick Henry* was the first to rise and open the momentous concerns which had brought them together. It was only necessary to break the first awful silence, and all became familiar to the necessary course of business. More than a month passed in serious deliberation, before any thing of importance was done. On the 8th of October they passed the following resolutions—

Resolved, That this Congress *do approve of the opposition* made by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case *all America ought to support them in their opposition.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this body, that the removal of the people of Boston into the country, would be, not only extremely difficult in the execution,

but so important in its consequences as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted. But in case the Provincial meeting of that Colony shall judge it *absolutely* necessary, it is the opinion of this Congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain; and it will be recommended accordingly.

Resolved, That this Congress do recommend to the inhabitants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, when it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, *under the rules of the Charter*, and the laws founded thereon, until the effects of our application for a repeal of the Acts, by which their Charter rights are infringed, is known.

Resolved, unanimously, That every person or persons whosoever, who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the Act passed in the last session of Parliament, changing the form of Government and violating the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, *ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence* by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that *despotism*, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which *God*, *nature*, and *compact* have given to America."

They passed some other resolutions, in which they advised the people of Massachusetts to conduct themselves peaceably towards his Majesty's troops, so long as they could do so with safety to themselves, and not to injure or destroy any of his Majesty's property, or to insult his troops—and further, that the seizing and transporting any American beyond the seas to be tried, for offences committed within the Colonies *justified*, and ought to meet with *resistance* and *reprisal*.

On the 10th of October, they addressed a letter to General Gage, in which they respectfully remonstrated against the propriety of his conduct in fortifying Boston Neck and thus interrupting the free intercourse of the people—they urged him as he valued the peace of the country, to remove these just grounds of complaint. His Excellency made a reply to this letter, in which he attempted something like a defence of his measures, and concluded with very civilly wishing that harmony might be restored.

On the 14th, The Congress agreed upon the following preamble and resolutions.

"Whereas since the close of the last war, the British Parliament claiming a power of right to bind the people of America by statute, in all cases whatsoever, hath in some Acts expressly imposed taxes on them, and in others under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these Colonies, established a Board of Commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

And whereas in consequence of other statutes, judges who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the Crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in time o peace. And it has lately been resolved in Parliament, that by force of a statute made in the 35th Henry VIII. Colonists may be transported to England and tried there upon accusations for treasons and misprisions, or concealment of treasons, committed in the Colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

And whereas in the last session of Parliament, three statutes were made: one entitled "an Act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America." Another entitled "An Act for the better regulating the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." And another entitled "An Act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." And another statute was then made "For making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, &c." All which statutes are impolitick, unjust and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the Crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his Majesty's Ministers of State.

The good people of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and Administration, have severally elected, constituted and appoint-

ed deputies to meet and sit in general Congress in the City of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following RIGHTS.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, 1st. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and they have never ceded to any foreign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved n. c. 2. That our ancestors, who first settled these Colonies, were at the time of their emigrations from the Mother Country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

Resolved n. c. 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendents now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be re-

presented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in such manner as has heretofore been accustomed: But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament as are *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the Mother Country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

Resolved, n. c. 5. That the respective Colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved, n. c. 7. That these, his Majesty's Colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of Provincial laws.

Resolved, n. c. 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and pe-

tition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same are illegal.

Resolved, n. c. 9. That the keeping a standing army in any of these Colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the Legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, n. c. 10. It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several Colonies by a Council appointed during pleasure, by the Crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which, the aforesaid deputies in behalf of themselves, and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several Provincial Legislatures."

They conclude with an enumeration of the various Acts of Parliament, and measures of the Ministry, which they consider as violations of the rights before expressed. And on the 20th of October they agreed upon the following articles of Association, to which every member present subscribed his name.

"We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several Colonies [before enumerated] deputed to represent them in a Continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow subjects of Great Bri-

tain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole Continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs, is occasioned by a ruinous system of Colony Administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1762, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various Acts of Parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America: And in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive Acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an Act for extending the Province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country; thus by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked Ministry shall choose so to direct them.

To obtain redress of these grievances. which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable mea-

sure: And therefore we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several Colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue and honour, and love of our country, as follows:

First, That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place any such goods, wares or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India Tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

Second, That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.

Third, As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above solemnly agree and associate, that, from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever, nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use, any of those goods, wares or merchandize, we have agreed not to import,

which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

Fourth, The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said Acts and parts of Acts of the British Parliament, hereinafter mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except *via* Europe.

Fifth, Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents and correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made publick; and, on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth have any commercial connexion with such merchant.

Sixth, That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismission from their service.

Seventh, We will use our utmost endeavours to improve the breed of sheep and increase their number to

the greatest extent; and to that end we will kill them as sparingly as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us who are, or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Eighth, That we will in our several stations encourage frugality, economy, and industry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments. And on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

Ninth, That such as are venders of goods or merchandize, will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past.—And if any vender of goods or merchandize, shall sell such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his, or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth, In case any merchant, trader, or other persons shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith at the election of the owner, to be either reshipped or delivered up to the Committee of the county or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risk of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the Committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods, shall be reimbursed (out of the sales) the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port Bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the publick papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh, That a Committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the Legislature, whose business it shall be, attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association; and when it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of a majority of such Committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette, to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publickly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth, That the Committee of correspondence in the respective Colonies do frequently inspect the entries of their Custom houses, and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

Thirteenth, That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteenth, And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatever, with any Colony or Province in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association until such parts of the several Acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, pancles, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America, and extend the powers of the Admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subjects of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor, from damages, that he might otherwise be liable to, from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed—And until that part of the Act of the 12. Geo. 3. ch. 24. entitled, "An act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores," by which, any persons charg-

ed with committing any of the offences therein described, in America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed—And until the four Acts passed in the last session of Parliament, viz. that for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston—That for altering the charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay—And that which is entitled, "An Act for the better administration of justice, &c."—And that "for extending the limits of Quebec, &c." are repealed—And we recommend it to the Provincial Conventions, and to the Committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such further regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association."

After these various resolutions had been passed, many of which occasioned very warm debates, the Congress agreed to draw up a petition to the King, a memorial to the people of England, an address to the people of the Colonies, and another to the French inhabitants of Quebec, *Georgia*, Nova Scotia and the other British Provinces that had not been represented.

The petition to the King is drawn up in the most humble and respectful manner, recapitulating in substance what has been already given in their various resolutions. They assure his Majesty that they desire no diminution of his prerogative, they ask for no new grant—that they desire a continuance of their connexion with Great Britain and of his authority over them—and that all they solicit is a redress of grievances, a restoration of peace, liberty and safety.

In their memorial to the people of Great Britain, they use a bold but affectionate tone, and call upon them to consider the cause for which they contend as one in which the whole people of the Kingdom are

equally interested—They demand nothing but to be restored to the situation which they were in at the peace of 1763, and they appeal to the justice of the British nation for a Parliament that may be led to do away the devices of a wicked and corrupt Ministry.

Their address to the people of the Colonies contained a summary account of their proceedings—the difficulties that necessarily attended the first deliberations of such an Assembly, and their hopes that what they have done may not only meet with their approbation, but produce the effect desired. They conclude with advising them to look forward to the worst and to be "prepared for every contingency."

To the French inhabitants of Canada, they urged the despotick tendency of the late change in their government—they explained to them in terms at once forcible, ingenious and artful, the many privileges and advantages of the English Constitution, to which they had become entitled, upon becoming British subjects; and the free enjoyment of which had been promised to them by the treaty, and were now snatched from them by the late Quebec Bill. They conclude by a cordial and affectionate invitation to them to unite in the measures which they had adopted for the common good of all British America.

They lastly resolved upon the expediency of holding another Congress at the same place on the 10th May 1775, unless it should be rendered unnecessary by a previous redress of grievances. Having thus completed their business after a session of fifty two days—exactly the number of their members—they dissolved themselves on the 26th of October.

The proceedings of this celebrated Congress, the tone and temper of their various resolutions, the style

of their addresses, the composition of the several papers that were drawn up by them, were in every particular calculated to excite the admiration of the world. That an assembly of fifty two men, born and educated in the wilds of a new world, unpractised in the arts of polity, most of them unexperienced in the arduous duties of legislation, coming from distant and distinct governments, differing in religion, manners, customs and habits, as they did in their views with regard to the nature of their connexion with Great Britain—that such an Assembly, so constituted, should display so much wisdom, sagacity, foresight and knowledge of the world, such skill in argument, such force of reasoning, such firmness and soundness of judgment, so profound an acquaintance with the rights of man, such elevation of sentiment, such genuine patriotism, and above all, such unexampled union of opinion—was indeed a political phenomenon, to which history has yet furnished no parallel.

Nor is it less wonderful that the whole people of the Colonies represented, should have regarded the simple recommendations of this Congress, with the reverence and obedience due to the strongest ties of law. Even in those Colonies where law and authority had been set at defiance, the injunctions of the Congress were scrupulously obeyed. The whole country was in that awful calm of expectation which precedes the bursting of a storm. They were willing to wait the issue of their petitions, but ready to enforce their rights at the risk of life.

While the Congress were in session at Philadelphia, nearly all the Colonies had fallen upon the plan of forming Provincial Assemblies or Congresses, without regard to their old forms of government, or rather

for the purpose of reestablishing their ancient rights of government. In Massachusetts the people had determined to hold a Provincial Congress on the 15th of October, which induced General Gage to issue his proclamation, convoking the General Court of the Province, to assemble at Salem on the 5th. By this manœuvre, it is probable, he hoped to prevent the institution of a Provincial Congress. The members, most of whom had formed the last General Court, obeyed the writs and repaired accordingly to Salem. But, for some extraordinary reason which does not appear, probably because he foresaw the impossibility of managing the same members who had so handsomely outwitted him in the month of June preceding, on the 4th of October, the day previous to the intended meeting, General Gage issued a second Proclamation, *dissolving* the Assembly. The members, nevertheless, met on the 5th, and determining the last proclamation to be illegal, they agreed to wait one day for the Governour's appearance to administer the oaths, and that failing, they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, as at first intended, and adjourned to *Concord*. All that they did here was to appoint a President, *John Hancock*, afterwards president of the Continental Congress—address a communication to the Governour, (which with his reply were in the usual strain of accusation and recrimination)—and then adjourned to meet at Cambridge on the 17th. Here they appointed a committee of safety, and a committee of supplies; the first of which was empowered to call out the militia for the defence of the Province, and the last to purchase supplies. *Elbridge Gerry*, who afterwards filled many of the most important stations in the Government, was at the head of this last

committee. They voted to enlist one fourth of the militia as *minute men*, to be frequently drilled and held in readiness for service at a *minute's* warning; and after appointing three general officers, they adjourned to the 23d of November.

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania at their meeting in November, by a formal vote ratified the proceedings of the Congress, and appointed delegates to represent them at its next meeting in May.

Maryland was particularly active in training her militia to the use of arms, which it was probable they would be so soon called upon to exercise. They took the appointment of officers out of the hands of the Governour, and manifested a zeal in the common cause, highly honourable.

In every Colony, before the close of the year, the scene of preparation was going on. In the meantime the situation of the citizens of Boston was in every respect disagreeable and alarming. Surrounded by the troops of his Majesty, they were every moment liable to attack and to be cut off from their friends in the country; and the alternative of removing with their families amid so many perils and difficulties, at such an inclement season, was scarcely less distressing. General Gage, however, seemed to have no disposition to risk an immediate attack upon the Americans. He expected reinforcements in the Spring, and he had seen how easy it had proved to the country to assemble a force of twenty thousand men, which in the event of his bringing on an engagement would have been sufficient to destroy his army.

His intention of remaining quiet for the present was still further evinced by his demand of materials for the construction of winter quarters for his men. But

so great was the general detestation of him and his men, that he could neither procure workmen, materials, clothing, or provisions.

In the mean time the Massachusetts Committees were active in their preparations for the most vigorous defence in the Spring. They had procured all sorts of military supplies for the service of twelve thousand men, and had engaged the assistance of the three neighbouring Provinces of New-Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. But it will now be necessary to take a view of the proceedings in England before we go on with the further measures of the Continent.

CHAPTER X.

Events of 1775—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Speech of Lord Chatham—Lord North's Fishery Bill—his conciliatory propositions—extraordinary confessions of some Noble Lords. People of New Hampshire seize the powder at the Fort—movement of Colonel Leslie—Quarrel in New York—Affair of Lexington and Concord—Exploit of the Rev. Mr. Payson—Seisure of the powder in Virginia.—Conduct of Patrick Henry—Lord North's conciliatory proposals received—Affair of Ticonderoga—Conduct of General Gage to the people of Boston—Massachusetts Congress meet—appoint Generals—Adams and Hancock declared outlaws—Continental Congress meet—their proceedings—Hancock appointed President—Washington appointed Commander in Chief—Battle of Breed's Hill—its consequences.

THE moderation evinced by the Congress at Philadelphia, had given great hopes to all the friends of America, that Ministers might be induced to treat their complaints with the respect which their justice demanded. Some of the first statesmen in England had openly declared that their resolutions and manifestos contained nothing which an Englishman, proud of his birthright, ought to wish to see altered. They saw in the resistance of the Colonies that invincible spirit of freedom which marks the dignity of human nature. They saw with satisfaction, that while the Americans maintained with manly firmness their own rights, they knew how to estimate the rights of the British Government, and that it now remained with the Ministers to accept the terms of reconciliation which were fairly and honourably offered, or lose the affection of the Colonies for ever, by an obstinate per-

severance in their wild dreams of Parliamentary supremacy.

The old Parliament having been unexpectedly dissolved, a new one was convened on the 29th of November, 1774. The King in his opening speech from the throne informed the two houses that the daring resistance and disobedience of his subjects in Massachusetts Bay still continued, with increasing and more criminal violence; but that the "most *proper* and *effectual* measures had been taken to prevent these mischiefs; and that they might depend upon a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken, or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of the Crown."

It is a singular fact in the history of Great Britain, that the vote on the Address, which usually follows the opening Speech from the Throne, occasioned a *protest* in the House of Lords—the first which had ever been made on such an occasion—in which the protesting Lords declare, that they cannot consent to be handed down to posterity as giving their assent to the continuance of measures, which a fatal experience had proved so ill adapted to the nature of the case, and which there is every reason to fear would plunge the country into the calamities of civil war.

But such a consideration could have no weight with men who had staked their reputation on the success of the bayonet. The Ministers, however, were evidently at some loss how to proceed, notwithstanding the high tone of his Majesty's Speech. They ridiculed the idea of a war, but were careful for some time to say nothing of their views or intentions.

At length on the 20th of January 1775, Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, laid be-

fore the House of Peers, the papers relative to his department. He had firmly opposed the Minister's scheme of coercion, but without effect, and it was finally developed to the House. As soon as the papers were read, Lord Chatham rose to move that a humble Address be presented to his Majesty, advising and beseeching him that "in order to open the way to a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciously please his Majesty to transmit orders to General Gage for *removing his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston.*" Lord Chatham sarcastically observed, that as he had not "the honour of access to his Majesty" he had no other medium of communicating to him his ideas of America than through Parliament; and that he was desirous "to rescue him from the advice of his present Ministers." He said that America could not be reconciled, "*she ought not to be reconciled* to this country, till the troops of Britain are removed from the Continent." The noble Lord went on to say, "Resistance to your acts was *necessary*, and therefore *just;* and your vain declarations of the *omnipotence* of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be equally impotent to convince or enslave America." The commanding eloquence of the noble Lord was never more forcibly displayed than on the present occasion. He insisted that the whole force of Britain would be incompetent to subdue the people of America. "You may no doubt, said he, destroy their cities; you may cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniencies of life; but, my Lords, *they will still despise your power,* for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty." He said that the spirit which now animated America

was the same which had led to the revolution in England, and that the friends of liberty on both sides of the Atlantick had but one common cause. "In this great cause, he continued, they are immoveably allied; it is the alliance of God and Nature, *immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven.*"—His Lordship admitted the right of Parliament to control the complicated machinery of commerce and navigation, but denied their authority over the *property* of the people of the Colonies—"property is private, individual, absolute; the touch of another annihilates it." He besought the House to rest upon that distinction, to allow the Americans to maintain their principles of taxation, and to confine the exercise of Parliamentary authority to the regulations of commerce. Of the Continental Congress the noble Earl spoke in a strain of the highest eulogy. "History, my Lords, (said he) has been my favourite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome: but, my Lords, I must declare and avow, that in the masterstates of the world, *I know not the People, or the Senate, who in such a complication of difficult circumstances can stand in preference to the Delegates of America* assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty Continental nation, *must be vain, must be futile.*" The speaker went on to say, that Ministerial manœuvres could never be able to resist such an union as that of America, that the hour of danger was not to be averted by the tricks of office, that matters had now gone so far that even repealing the obnoxious Acts would not restore the lost confidence of America, unless his

Majesty's armed force was withdrawn from the Continent. The Noble Lord pledged himself, that they would one day find themselves *compelled* to undo all their oppressive acts. He advised them therefore to enter at once into that course, of their own accords which they must be ultimately forced to adopt. "To conclude, my Lords, (said he,) if the Ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from the Crown; but I affirm, *they will make the Crown not worth his wearing*, I will not say that *the King is betrayed*, but I will pronounce that *the Kingdom is undone*."

Lord Chatham's motion for an Address to his Majesty, was seconded and ably supported by Lord Camden; who affirmed that "whenever oppression begins, resistance becomes lawful and right."

But the motion, like all other motions opposed to the views and wishes of the Ministry, was lost by a large majority. The Administration declared their determination never to relax in their measures of coercion until America was forced into obedience.

When these same papers came to be considered in the House of Commons, Lord North moved that they should be referred to a Committee of the whole House on the 26th of January. In the early part of the winter, and during the recess of Parliament, this Minister had given some reasons to believe, that he had been frightened into moderation, by the accounts from the Continent. He had held frequent conferences with the merchants of London, and had hinted to them that Parliament might be induced to listen to *their petitions*, for a repeal of the Acts that concerned the Colonies. They did petition: but before their petitions

were acted upon, his Lordship had received some intelligence from America, which changed his views of things, and confirmed him in his former scheme of force. He had been informed by some of the numerous tools of the Government in New York, that the Legislature of that Colony would never afford their sanction to the proceedings of the Continental Congress; and that he might assure himself the Colony of New-York would remain faithful to the British authority, even if an union of the other Provinces should take place—an event, which, this intelligence tended to convince his Lordship, could never be accomplished.

Posterity will hardly credit the fact that all the measures of Lord North's administration, were founded upon the vain and idle rumours of men who had neither the honesty nor the courage to tell him what they fancied would displease him; in direct oppugnancy to the glaring truths which were constantly repeated to him, not only by statesmen in England who had better means of information, and who could have no motive for deceiving him, but by the united voice of a whole Continent—in whose conduct and proceedings, the falsehood of his informers was almost rendered self evident. The representations of *Bernard* and *Hutchinson*, even after the former had become as infamous in London as he had made himself in America, were treated by Lord North with more attention, than the prayers of a whole people, presented with every mark of humility and true loyalty.

With regard to the petitions of the merchants just mentioned, Lord North was guilty of an artifice, which would have disgraced any other Minister; but which was only in conformity to the general principles upon which his Lordship's system was founded. When

they came under consideration he contrived, that they should be referred to a Committee of the whole, to meet the day *after* the American affairs should have been acted upon—thus excluding them from any influence on the decisions of that day.

Among the papers which had been laid before the House by Lord Dartmouth, was the petition of the Congress to the King, in behalf of which the American Agents, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Bollan and Mr. Lee, petitioned to be heard at the Bar of the House. But this privilege was refused to them by the Ministers, on the ground that the Congress was an *illegal* body, and their petition was rejected by an unusually large majority.

The day allotted for the consideration of the American papers passed off without any proposition from the Ministry. It appeared that they felt themselves secure of the new Parliament, in which their majority was much greater than in the former one, and they were in no haste to settle the existing disputes. Lord North perhaps expected that every day would bring some accounts, that the people of Boston had actually commenced hostilities, and that this would furnish a pretext for the scheme in contemplation. Whatever were his reasons, the 8th of February came without any plan from the Ministry.

Lord Chatham had not been so idle as the Ministry—on the day just mentioned, he introduced into the House of Peers a "Provisional Act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the Colonies." Though this Bill would not in all probability have been well received by the Colonies, it contained too many appearances of concession

to their demands, to be pleasing to the Ministry. It met with unusual opposition, and was treated by many of the Lords in Administration with a degree of asperity, certainly not consistent with the respect which was due to its noble mover. Lord Dartmouth made a faint effort to keep it on the table, until the American papers should be taken into consideration, but it was thrown out of the House by a large majority.

On the succeeding day Lord North moved an Address to his Majesty, thanking him for the communication of the American papers, asserting that a *rebellion* actually existed in Massachusetts, and assuring his Majesty of support, at the hazard of life and fortune, "against all rebellious attempts." This motion, occasioned a heat of debate, which led to the disclosure of one of the most extraordinary circumstances that perhaps ever occurred in the Ministerial annals.

When the address had been taken to the House of Peers, Lord *Mansfield* took occasion, in the course of his speech, to charge all their present and impending evils to the Port Duties of 1767, which he declared to be "the most absurd and pernicious" measure that could have been devised. Three of the Noble Lords, who had held the most important posts in the Administration, at the time alluded to, upon this charge of Lord Mansfield, exculpated themselves by declaring that "they had never given their approbation to that measure, nor had had any share in it whatever." These were Lords Shelburne and Camden, and the Duke of Grafton.—This was the effect of that *secret influence*, which commenced with the reign of his present Majesty, George IIId, and continued to direct the affairs of the nation, in direct contradiction to the ad-

vice of those who *appeared at the helm*, and to whom alone the world ascribed all the measures of Government. It was this influence which had destroyed all the efforts of Lord Chatham to form a wise system of Administration, and which had driven that illustrious nobleman to the brink of the grave, by his laborious mental exertions to counteract it.

This disclosure created some little astonishment in the House, but it was evanescent, and the Address was at length agreed to by "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal." And on the next day Lord North began to develope his scheme. He moved for leave to introduce a Bill for restraining the trade of the New-England Colonies, and prohibiting them from carrying on the *fisheries* on the Banks of Newfoundland. Though this Bill was moved by Lord North, Mr. *Wedderburne*, of whom memorable mention has already been made, was its author. It was an idea worthy of the base defamer of a *Franklin*, to *starve* the Americans into submission—and to starve, too, the innocent as well as the guilty. There were four Colonies in New-England, and only one had been declared in a state of rebellion. In many of the towns of Massachusetts, it was well known to Mr. Wedderburne, the people had literally no other means of support than by their fisheries, and that if cut off from them they must be reduced to famine and misery. But this only served to make the proposed measure more acceptable to the Ministry. In vain the London merchants assured them that Great Britain reaped all the *profits* of their fisheries—that every thing necessary for carrying them on was derived from that kingdom—and that a million was due from New-England to the merchants of London. Nothing could move the obduracy

of Ministerial friends. The motion was carried by the usual majority.

In the course of the debate upon this Bill, Lord North exhibited another instance of his attachment to *deceptive* measures. He told the House that he had a *conciliatory proposition* to make; and after labouring with great ingenuity to prove that he was *sincere*, the riddle was thus expounded—that if the Americans would consent to *tax themselves*, at all times and for all purposes, that Great Britain should demand it, why, then—Great Britain would forbear to tax them; or that any *one Colony* agreeing to this *compromise*, should be exempt from taxation by the Parliament so long as it continued to pay, *of its own accord*, all that Parliament required.

This was truly a proposition worthy of Lord North. The many evidences which the Americans had already given of their good sense, were not sufficient to convince his Lordshtp, that they were not all idiots—he had been so told by several of his Lordship's *best friends*, and it would have been treason to them, to doubt it. But the Minister had nearly outwitted himself by calling his proposition *conciliatory*. He had raised up so many enemies to *America* in this new Parliament, who had been taught to look upon her as a stubborn, refractory *child*, that the idea of hushing up the matter so easily, appeared to be derogatory to the dignity of an offended *mother*, and they exclaimed against the conduct of his Lordship, as base and degenerate.

His conduct was indeed *base*, but not in the sense in which his Lordship's friends in Parliament regarded it. He placed full confidence in the rumour which had so often reached him, that it was utterly impossible the

Colonies could ever be united; and this scheme was well contrived, if any such disposition existed among them, to keep them asunder. But it was difficult to explain himself without exposing his policy too far, and the consequence would have been fatal to his motion, had not Mr. *Wedderburne* again helped him out. This gentleman contended that nothing like concession was meant by the measure, and that though it appeared to suspend the assertion of a right, it did not suspend *the profitable exercise of that right.* The House finally agreed to the propositiou, 274 to 88, and the Minister lost no ground.

Another Bill for restraining the trade of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina, was soon after brought in, and carried almost without opposition. Indeed such was the overwhelming power of the Minister, in the present Parliament, that all attempt at opposition was useless.

Several ineffectual propositions were made during the session, founded upon an earnest desire to restore harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, upon principles of equity to both. Among these, the measures proposed by Mr. *Burke,* in a speech which deserves to live for ever in the memory of the politician, were most worthy of notice. But they were smothered in their birth, by the loud negatives of the Ministry. Mr. Burke also presented "A representation and remonstrance from the General Assembly of New-York," in which they express their desire to be restored to the good graces of Parliament upon conditions that, though humble in the extreme, were not altogether consistent with the plans of the Ministry,

and the paper was, as *the people* of New-York wished it to be, rejected.

Having thus pursued the Parliament to their close, we shall now return to the Colonies, and see the effect produced by the proud menaces and empty boastings of those who thought to *look* them into annihilation.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the American Colonies, that the Parliament of Great Britain received its impressions of their character from the portraits drawn of them by Generals *Grant*, *Burgoyne*, and other exquisite painters of the House—by whose representations the Americans appeared too contemptible for the formation of any serious plan of military operations. Five regiments were thought an ample force to drive the Americans from Massachusetts to Georgia. But the God of battles leans not to the side of the boaster.

The only movement on the part of the Americans, during the winter, which bore the appearance of hostility, occurred in the Province of New-Hampshire, where a number of people assembled in arms, and attacked his Majesty's fortress of William and Mary—of which they easily gained possession, and having supplied themselves with all the powder which it contained, they left it again to his Majesty's troops.

On the part of the British, an unsuccessful attempt had been made by a detachment of troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Leslie, to seize some brass cannon at Salem. The people hearing of their approach removed the cannon into the country, and the officer pursued until interrupted by a draw-bridge, which had been raised to impede his progress. The officer very peremptorily ordered the bridge to be let down, but the people who were assembled in consi-

derable numbers on the opposite side, said that it was a *private* road, which his Majesty's troops had no right to travel—Col. Leslie then made an attempt to seize a boat which lay on the shore of the river, but the people jumped in and scuttled it, before he had time to accomplish his purpose. He continued obstinately bent upon crossing, and a combat would in all probability have ensued, but for the interference of a clergyman, who saw the whole transaction, and perceiving that nothing could be effected by the officer if he was permitted to cross, he persuaded the people to let down the bridge. Colonel Leslie then marched over, and marched *back again*, much to his mortification.

Early in the Spring a meeting of the people of New-York took place, at which the opposite parties proceeded to blows, and a general combat ensued, which ended in the complete discomfiture of the King's friends, and thereby secured the cooperation of that Province.

In Virginia, some spirited resolutions, introduced by Mr. Henry, had passed in the Convention, for arming and disciplining the militia, and every thing wore the face of an approaching campaign. Having reappointed their former deputies to Congress with the addition of *Thomas Jefferson*, the Convention adjourned.

The Massachusetts Congress had met at Cambridge on the 1st of February, but adjourned soon afterwards to Concord, as a place of greater security. At this last place the Committees of safety and supplies, had collected a large quantity of military stores, and received further directions to prepare for an army of fifteen thousand men. On the 18th of March a small part of

these supplies was seized by the troops of General Gage, stationed at Boston Neck.

The preparations which were making by the Massachusetts Congress were well calculated to excite the suspicions of General Gage, and it is matter of surprise that he should so long have delayed some attempt to interrupt them. But intelligence of the proceedings of Parliament had not yet reached him; and, fortunately, the people of Massachusetts became possessed of it before him. Early in April the citizens of Boston began to withdraw from the town, and in a short time the greater part of them had joined their friends in the country.

The spark which had been so long kindling at length burst into a flame. The moment General Gage received intelligence from home, he commenced operations, but before he had time to secure the passes from the town, information of his movements had been conveyed to the Americans at Concord. On the 18th of April, General Gage determined to make an effort to possess himself of the military stores which the Americans had collected at Concord, and for that purpose detached *nine hundred* Grenadiers and Light Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel *Smith*, and Major *Pitcairn*, who crossed the river in the night and landed at *Phipps's Farm*, about six miles north west from Charlestown ferry. After halting here for a few moments, they proceeded rapidly to *Lexington*, a small village which stands on the road to Concord, and which they reached about sunrise. Upon their arrival at Lexington they found about *seventy* militia men, paraded on the green, in the centre of the village, and a number of spectators near, without arms. Major Pitcairn most heroically rode up to this

little band, which was commanded by Captain *Parker*, and called out to them in a voice which he intended should annihilate them, "Disperse, *ye rebels;* throw down your arms and disperse."—finding that his order was not promptly obeyed, this modern Alexander rode in among them, fired his pistol, brandished his sword, and ordered the advance corps which he commanded to fire. The soldiers obeyed with loud "huzzas," and gave a general discharge, by which eight Americans were killed, and several wounded. A few of the militia finding that the soldiers continued to fire, even after they had dispersed, had the courage to stop and return the fire—with which exception, no resistance was made on the part of the Americans, though much pains were taken to cast the odium of the aggression upon them. To *Major Pitcairn* belongs the disgrace of committing the first murders, under the new plan of coercion.

It had been reported that the object of this famous expedition was the seizure of the persons of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, as the two *ringleaders* of rebellion; but these two gentlemen were not so wanting in judgment, as to suppose it probable, that *nine hundred* men would be sent on an errand that could have been better accomplished by a few secret emissaries. They merely kept out of the view of this detachment, without relaxing their labours in the cause of freedom.

After this grand affair at Lexington, Colonel Smith moved on with his force towards Concord. The militia who had assembled there, not being sufficiently numerous to dispute the entrance of the regulars, retired beyond a bridge over the Concord river, or Bellerika, and the army entered the town without opposition. They were disappointed, however, in their

expectation of finding the stores, every thing having been previously removed except three old cannon, a few gun carriages, and about sixty barrels of flour; all which they destroyed. While they were engaged in this disgraceful exploit, a reinforcement had joined the militia, and a movement was made as if they intended to recross the bridge, which remained in possession of the Light Infantry. The Militia officers had given particular caution to their men, on no account, to fire the first shot, but to defend themselves if attacked. The Light Infantry did not leave them long under this restraint, for upon the approach of the militia towards the bridge, they fired and killed two men—the fire was immediately returned, and a smart skirmish ensued, in which the King's troops were so severely handled, that they retreated in some confusion, leaving several killed and wounded on the field. Besides which a lieutenant and several men were taken prisoners by the Provincials.

The whole surrounding country was now in arms, and the victorious Provincials, hung upon the rear of the retreating army, galling them by irregular and scattering fires, from behind the stone walls, trees and houses, until they reached Lexington. Colonel Smith's whole detachment must inevitably have been sacrificed, but for the timely appearance of Lord Percy. General Gage had received a despatch from Colonel Smith early in the morning, in which, however, nothing was said of the murder of the Militia at Lexington, and had immediately ordered a reinforcement of *nine hundred* Infantry and Marines, with two pieces of artillery, under Earl Percy, to go to his assistance. This reinforcement met Colonel Smith at Lexington, at a critical moment for his safety, many of his

men having been killed, and the whole much fatigued from their brisk retreat.

Lord Percy did not deem it prudent to halt long at Lexington; but scarcely allowing Smith's troops time to recover breath, moved off with the whole brigade, on his return to Boston. The Provincials recommenced their irregular firings, the moment the troops began to move, and continued it with considerable effect during the whole day. Major Pitcairn, having dismounted in order perhaps to render himself a less conspicuous mark, lost his horse and pistols, which fell into the hands of the Provincials. The King's troops thus annoyed by a mode of attack against which it was impossible to defend themselves, seemed determined to take vengeance upon the innocent and unarmed countrymen who fell in their way. At *Menotomy*, they were guilty of barbarities, equal in enormity to any that were practised during the bloodiest epoch of the *French Revolution*. Houses were plundered and then set on fire, random shots were fired at the windows of others, and two feeble old men were murdered without provocation. About sunset they arrived at *Bunker Hill*, where they encamped for the night, after a march of nearly forty miles.

During the march of the troops from Lexington a gallant exploit was performed by a *clergyman* which deserves to be recorded. A party of twelve soldiers on their way to the retreating army, with a supply of ammunition and stores, were attacked by the Rev'd Mr. *Payson*, at the head of a few of his neighbours, near Menotomy, who killed one, wounded several and made the rest prisoners with all their baggage and stores.

Thus ended the first day of American *rebellion*, a day never forgotten, by those who had pledged their reputation to overrun the whole Continent with *five hundred* men. Here *eighteen hundred* of the chosen troops of General Gage, fled before a few scattered militia, who had never collected at any one point to a greater amount than *four hundred*. It was a severe blow to the *pride* of the English troops; but they ceased not, even after this signal defeat, to upbraid the Americans with *cowardice*, singular as the charge may appear when coming from flying troops.

Such was the extreme fatigue of Lord Percy's brigade, that there can be no doubt he would have been compelled to surrender, with little or no opposition, if he had been met at Charlestown Neck by a regiment of fresh troops. This was the expectation of the Concord and Lexington officers, who pushed their pursuit no further than Cambridge; knowing that Colonel *Timothy Pickering* had at his command a well disciplined regiment of the hardy sons of liberty, of Salem and Marblehead, and that intelligence of the movements of the English Troops had reached him, in sufficient time for him to have attempted the enterprise. His neglect excited strong suspicions of his disaffection to the common cause; but this was a time when suspicions were easily excited, often without foundation—it is equally probable that Colonel Pickering did not feel himself authorized to move without the orders of the Committee of Safety, which it does not appear that he received.

By the most authentick accounts that could be collected, it appeared that the British Troops lost on this memorable day, in killed, wounded, and prisoners 273 men; Lieutenant Colonel Smith was one among the wounded. The Provincials lost about

sixty, killed and wounded, including the eight who were *murdered* at Lexington in the morning. The inhabitants of Charlestown, received the wounded and famished soldiers of the King into their houses, and treated them with every mark of kind and hospitable attention—as a return for which, their town was burnt to ashes a few months afterwards by the same troops.

The affair of Lexington and Concord spread with great rapidity through the country—the first blow had been struck by his Majesty's troops, and *rebellion* lost its name in that of *self-defence.* General Gage could not but be astonished at an issue so very different from that which he had been led to expect, from the representations of the dastards who had taken refuge among his troops at Boston. He scarcely thought that any resistance would be made to the detachment which he had ordered to Concord the evening before: much less did he dream that they would be driven back, wearied, beaten, and famished.

About the same time an affair occurred in Virginia, which it will be necessary to relate. Governour Dunmore, on the plea of *an insurrection in a neighbouring county,* had sent an officer with a body of marines, to seize upon the powder in the publick magazine at *Williamsburgh,* and remove it on board an armed schooner then lying in James River. The officer effected this on the night of the 20th of April, and the inhabitants were not apprized of it until the next morning, when it was with much difficulty they were restrained from going in pursuit of the officer and compelling him to restore it. The civil authorities of the city addressed a letter to Lord Dunmore. in which they respectfully stated the circumstance, and requested that the powder, which was the property

of the Province, might be restored. To this his Excellency replied that Captain Collins had *his orders* for what had been done, that *upon his word and honour*, it should be restored, whenever it was *wanted*, concluding, however, with saying that as he had heard that "that the people were under arms on this occasion" he did "*not think it prudent to put powder into their hands.*" The people were by no means satisfied with this reply of the Governour—they continued to assemble in arms and to patrol the streets, when two days after, his Lordship sent a savage threat that if they dared to molest any of his Majesty's officers, he would "*declare freedom to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes!*" This threat answered no other purpose than to show the hellish temper of the man from whom it proceeded. The surrounding country, hearing of these transactions flew to arms in all directions, and being further excited by the news from Massachusetts, upwards of seven hundred men assembled at Fredericksburg by the 27th of April, on their march to Williamsburg. But hearing here that the people of that city were satisfied with the assurances which had been given by Lord Dunmore, they dispersed and returned to their respective homes. This gave rise to an incident which cannot be passed over in silence. Mr. *Henry*, who either felt more enthusiasm in the cause of freedom, or less confidence in the promises of the Governour, than his countrymen, resolved upon making an attempt to recover the powder which had been carried off. To effect his object he made an eloquent appeal to the feelings of the inhabitants of his county, which had the desired effect. A company was immediately assembled, and placed under his command, with which he forthwith

set out on his march to the Capital. The news of his expedition soon spread, and such was the effect upon his countrymen, by whom he was almost idolized, that five thousand men were in a little time ready to join his standard, if it should become necessary. The Governour's family were alarmed and took refuge on board the Fowey man of war. In vain were repeated messages sent to stop Mr. Henry's march—he proceeded, nor stopt until he had effected his object, which was done without bloodshed—for the Governour, in great apprehension for the consequences, gave orders to the Receiver General to meet Mr. Henry, and give him *payment in full* for the powder, with which this gallant patriot, returned from his expedition, and was two days afterwards proclaimed an outlaw by his Excellency.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, a few days after the battle of Concord, resolved "that an army of *thirty thousand* men be immediately raised and established; that thirteen thousand six hundred be by this Province; and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island." Of this proposed army, General *Ward* was appointed commander in chief. *Heath*, *Prescott*, *Thomas* and *Putnam*, were the other Generals. Such was the zeal of the Colonies which had been applied to for men, that these Generals soon had a nominal force of near *twenty thousand* men. *Putnam* received the news of the Lexington affair, and of his appointment, while at work in his leather apron and check shirt, and in that situation, without even waiting to enter his house, he took command of several hundred men who offered themselves to him, gave them the necessary orders for marching, and in

eighteen hours was himself at Concord, a distance of one hundred miles. *Putnam* had served under General Amherst, with considerable reputation for gallantry and courage, in the war of 1762, and now evinced by his extraordinary zeal and activity, that he had lost none of the warmth of either. *Benedict Arnold*, who had been chosen Captain of a Volunteer Company by his fellow citizens of *New Haven*, collected them together the moment the news from Concord reached him, and in defiance of advice or persuasion, with an ardour which nothing could abate, set out on his march, and reached the head quarters at *Cambridge* on the 29th of April.

The people of New-Jersey very wisely secured the *Province treasury*, containing about twenty thousand pounds sterling, as an excellent resource in the stand they were preparing to make.

About this time the several Provincial Governours received Lord North's *conciliatory proposals*, before mentioned—but their object was too plainly visible to produce any change in the measures of the Colonies.

The example which had been set by General Gage of seizing upon military stores as a preparatory measure, was so alluring, that most of the Colonies adopted it, upon receiving the Lexington news.

In Maryland, at Baltimore, the people thus possessed themselves of 1500 stand of arms, with accoutrements complete; and at Charleston twelve hundred were secured in the same manner. But the most important achievement of this sort was planned and performed by a few gentlemen of Connecticut, under the joint command of Colonels *Allen* and *Arnold*, the latter of whom had been promoted to that rank by the Massachusetts Congress a few days after his arrival

with his volunteer company at Head Quarters. The party under them amounted to 270, the greater part of whom were inhabitants of that part of the country now called *Vermont*, and bore the distinguishing appellation of *Green mountain boys*. Their point of destination was the fortress of *Ticonderoga* on Lake Champlain, which contained a large quantity of military stores, and was but feebly garrisoned. The plan was so well laid that its execution cost not a man; the two Colonels surprised the garrison with about eighty men and demanded its surrender "in the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress," a demand which Captain De la Place was unable to refuse. Having thus far succeeded, they determined upon gaining possession of *Crown Point* also, and of a sloop of war which lay at St. Johns, all which was most skilfully and gallantly effected; and these two Colonels, with the assistance of Colonel *Seth Warren*, who joined them at Ticonderoga with the remainder of the 270 men, thus gained complete command of Lake Champlain, besides 120 pieces of artillery, ten tons of musket balls, one hundred stand of arms, a large quantity of other stores—and about fifty prisoners.

Immediately after the affair at Lexington, General Gage had shewn a disposition to act towards the inhabitants, who had been compelled to remain in Boston, with much humanity and generosity. He gave permission to all who wished it to depart from town with ther families and effects, on condition only that they would leave behind them their arms and military equipments, which was certainly a fair and justifiable precaution. He offered them moreover every facility in his power to remove them, gave permission for wagons to enter the town, and allowed them the

use of the boats of the fleet. As a further evidence of his sincerity, he directed that a letter should be addressed to *Doctor Warren*, chairman of the Committee of Congress, communicating this information.—Doctor Warren appeared to be satisfied with the arrangement in every particular, except that he thought the number of wagons allowed to be admitted at a time was too small. The immediate removal of the inhabitants was strongly recommended by the Provincial Congress. But for some reason which seems to be wholly unexplained, the inhabitants, after having deposited their arms to the amount of 1778 muskets, 634 pistols, 273 bayonets, and 38 blunderbusses, were still unwilling to depart. It is certain, at least, that very few did depart, though it does not appear that there was any want of faith on the part of General Gage, or any complaint of being unprovided with the promised means of departure—until more than a month afterwards, when change of circumstances rendered it prudent, at least, if it did not entirely justify the General's refusal to let them go. The inhabitants had only themselves to blame for not seizing the opportunity when it was offered to them—no complaint of detention was whispered at that time, and it is but common justice to General Gage, whose conduct has been censured in the harshest terms of reproach, to conclude that his agreement was dictated by a sincere feeling of humanity.

In the mean time the Massachusetts Congress were active in every necessary preparation for vigorous measures. Dr. Warren had been chosen President to supply the place of Mr. Hancock who was one of the Delegates to the Continental Congress. All the towns of the Colony had been called upon in the most urgent manner to supply their quota of men, and

send them immediately to Head Quarters—a call which they wanted no inducements to obey. A principal object of the Congress seemed to be to guard Boston Neck, so as to cut off the land communication of his Majesty's troops in town. In this important service, Colonel *Lemuel Robinson*, of *Dorchester*, was eminnetly useful. Another important measure was also adopted by the Massachusetts Congress; they declared the *paper money* of Connecticut and Rhode Island a legal currency, and directed it to be received in payment of debts—and further empowered their Receiver General to borrow the sum of 75,000 pounds sterling at an interest of *six per cent*. On the 5th of May they passed a resolution declaring the Colony free from all obedience to General Gage. Very soon after the Lexington affair, they drew up an address to the people of *Great Britain*, in which they stated the transactions of the 19th of April, and declare their determination never to submit to the tyranny of the Ministry. This Address was despatched by Captain *Derby*, of Salem, to whom they had given their first naval commission.

The new Continental Congress commenced their session at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, and unanimously reelected their former President and Secretary. Several changes had been made in the members since the last year—Mr. *Jefferson*, Dr. *Franklin* and some others had been added.

One of the first acts of the new Congress was to reply to a request from the people of New-York, who desired to be informed *how they should act* on the arrival of the expected troops from England. It was evident from the advice given that Congress had not lost all expectation of an amicable settlement of the

dispute with Great Britain, whatever might have been the secret wishes of a few. Their next step was an unanimous resolution to recommend a cessation of all exportations of provisions and other necessaries to all the British Provinces of America, which had not entered into the union.

They soon after resolved to put the Colonies in a state of defence, and that "an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his Majesty." This measure was *unanimously* agreed to, from the certainty which many, who voted against their wishes, felt that it would produce no effect, and from their desire to conciliate those members who seemed to be unwilling to proceed to extremities. Mr. *Dickinson*, the celebrated author of the *Farmer's Letters*, which have been before mentioned, was among those who ardently wished for a reconciliation with *Great Britain*, upon the fair principles of the British Constitution. On the 7th of June they passed a resolution "That Thursday the 20th of July be observed throughout the twelve *United Colonies* as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer." And on the 9th, they recommended to the Province of Massachusetts the formation of a *new government* upon the principles of their Charter.

A few days after the arrival of the three English Generals *Howe*, *Clinton*, and *Burgoyne*, General Gage issued a proclamation offering in his Majesty's name a full pardon to all who should lay down their arms, *except Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, two *arch traitors* whom his Majesty was greatly desirous to bring to the block. The Congress had a favourable opportunity offered to them, at the moment, of showing their regard for the Governour's proclamation, by appointing Mr. *Hancock* their *President*, in

place of Mr. Randolph whose private business called him home.

Mr. Hancock was certainly not the man upon whom the unbiassed voice of the Congress would have fallen. He had been early enlisted in the cause of the people, by the superiour discernment of Mr. Samuel Adams, who foresaw that his large fortune would add respectability to the little band of patriots. His manners were agreeable, and his address prepossessing, but he had neither talents nor solidity sufficient to direct any affair of importance. Under the wing of Mr. Adams he had acquired considerable popularity, the love of which, more than attachment to the great principles of opposition to the Ministerial measures, had secured him against an acquiescence in the artful propositions of Governour *Hutchinson*, with whom he continued occasionally to be *too intimate*, until the departure of that officer for England. Subsequent circumstances, the effect of accident, had raised him to conspicuous stations, which increased his influence and confirmed him in the part which he had taken. The new honour conferred upon him by Congress, would never have been thought of, while there were such men as *Franklin*, *Jefferson*, *Dickinson*, and many others, but for the proclamation of General Gage, which has rendered his name immortal.

On the 15th of June General Washington was elected by *unanimous ballot*, Commander in Chief of all the Continental forces. When informed by the President of this choice, he arose from his seat, and, with that peculiar modesty which characterized this illustrious man, thus addressed him. "Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a conscious-

ness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust.—However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it maybe remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with. I beg leave, Sir, to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestick ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses—those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

It is a remarkable fact, that the *unanimous* voice of the Congress should have fixed upon a man, who for near twenty years had not drawn a sword, and scarcely mixed in publick affairs; Washington, having immediately after the expedition to *Fort Duquesne*, retired to his farm, where in the unmixed enjoyment of domestick felicity, he seemed to have forgotten the great world beyond him, or to have remembered it only as unworthy to disturb his happiness. His early warfare had been almost entirely with the Indians, and in this he had discovered a coolness of judgment and of courage, that never failed to attract the attention, and to excite the applause, of his companions in arms. His advice to General Braddock showed that he had profited by experience; and his conduct on the death

of that brave but headstrong Chief proved how well he could have seconded the counsels which he gave. Subsequent to this period we see him unavailingly urging to the British Generals the necessity of a military movement which they could not comprehend, but which was adopted on the instant of General Amhert's arrival, whose military genius saw and acknowledged the wisdom of Washington's measures. These had been the principal incidents of his early military career—They had not been brilliant, but they had been such as to develope all the solid qualifications of a military officer. The Government of his own Province had twice voted him the thanks of his country, and the situation of that country now drew him once more from his retirement to take his share in the duties of a citizen. The Province of Virginia deservedly possessed great influence in the Continental Congress, and to that influence may be ascribed their choice of *Washington*, to command the Continental forces—a choice which, under the blessings of Providence, led our country to independence and happiness.

The Congress at the same time appointed four Major Generals and an Adjutant General. *Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler,* and *Israel Putnam* were the Major Generals, in the order in which they stand; and *Horatio Gates* the Adjutant General. We shall have occasion, hereafter, to speak of the characters of these officers.

In the mean time various parties of the militia and *minute men*, under the orders of the Provincial Congress, had been engaged in frequent skirmishes with the British foraging parties from Boston. It was considered as a matter of great importance, that the British should be deprived of the supplies of stock and other

articles of provision, which abounded on the islands in Boston harbour. For this purpose General Putnam with a party of six hundred men, in their attempt to bring off the stock and destroy the hay on one of the islands, were opposed by a party of marines from Boston, who were supported by several armed vessels and barges. A warm action commenced which continued through the whole of a dark night, and one of the vessels running aground, the British in the morning were compelled to abandon her, and make their escape. Dr. Warren had joined General Putnam in the course of the action, and rendered him considerable service. By this action the British met with a severe loss of men, besides an immense amount of stock, which the Americans succeeded in conveying from the island, with scarcely any loss to themselves. The success of General Putnam encouraged other parties, who successively stripped all the islands in the harbour of every thing which could be useful to the British army, and thus left them in a state of considerable embarassment at Boston.

The Provincial Committee of safety judging from the arrival of the three British Generals and the consequent movements of General Gage, that some important blow would soon be struck, recommended to the council of war the propriety of fortifying the commanding grounds on the peninsula of Charlestown, to the north, and those of Dorchester to the south of Boston, by which the operations of General Gage might be considerably impeded. There were two hills on the peninsula, in the rear of Charlestown, one of which commanded both the Charles and Mystic rivers, and the whole isthmus, which it is somewhat extraordinary that General Gage did not secure the pos-

session of, as one of his first measures. Having already the command of both rivers, he might at little trouble or expence, have maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with any of the northern parts of the Province, by having possession of *Bunker Hill;* but he did not see his mistake until it was too late to rectify it.

The Americans had determined upon erecting a work on *Bunker Hill,* but by some mistake, the workmen employed commenced their operations on *Breed's Hill,* three eighths of a mile distant from the former, and a much less advantageous position. Colonel *Prescott,* with a detachment of a *thousand* men, received orders from General Putnam to execute this work on the night of the 16th of June—the General himself accompanied him and superintended the work. They commenced at midnight, and with such silence and expedition did they carry on the work, that the dawn of the 17th offered to the view of the British ships in the river, the first intelligence of what had been doing. They saw to their astonishment a redoubt, entrenchment and breast-work, where the night before there had not been the mark of a spade. They were not, indeed, finished, for the men continued to labour at them, but enough was seen to excite alarm, and this alarm soon became general by the roar of the guns from the *Lively* man of war. Her guns awakened the sleeping Generals of Boston, who were dreaming of far different operations for the day. By four o'clock in the morning all the guns, howitzers and mortars that could be brought to bear upon the American works, from the ships, floating batteries, and hill of Boston, opened their fire, and one incessant and tremendous roar continued for several hours.

The Americans, who, from some unpardonable neglect or mistake on the part of those whose duty it was to provide against it, had been labouring all night without relief or reinforcement; but neither fatigue, nor the dreadful roar of artillery that rung in their ears, could arrest the progress of their labour. Without stopping to return the fire of a single gun, they proceeded to complete as far as they could what had been begun. In the course of the day they were joined by General *Pomeroy* and *Doctor Warren*, who had been four days before taken from the Presidential chair of the Provincial Congress and made a Major-General, and about *five hundred* men chiefly from New Hampshire and Connecticut, under Colonel *Stark*. On reaching *Bunker Hill*, which they did between 11 and 12 o'clock, Colonel Stark and Captain Knowlton were ordered by General Putnam to throw up a breast work in the rear of the redoubt and between the two Hills, in order to protect the left flank of the lines from the attack by the Mystic river. This breast work was made by bringing two post-and-rail fences together and filling them in with new hay, rather an insecure defence but the best that the time would admit of being made.

About noon General Gage ordered Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, with ten companies of Grenadiers, ten of Light Infantry, and five Battalions with a proper train of artillery, to dislodge the Americans. These were afterwards reinforced by several additional companies of Grenadiers, the 47th Regiment and 1st Battalion of Marines, making in the whole according to General Gage's own account, upwards of *two thousand men*. Before the troops embarked in the boats prepared for them, a shell thrown from

the battery at Copp's Hill, in Boston, set fire to a house in Charlestown, and the buildings being all of wood, the fire spread with great rapidity, so that before General Howe landed at Moreton's point, the whole town was in flames.

The Americans lay within the entrenchments, anxiously waiting for the advance of the British, whom they suffered to approach within a hundred yards, before they commenced their fire. A volley of musketry was then poured in upon them from the whole line, which was continued for some minutes with such well directed aim, that the British retreated with great precipitation and disorder. They were rallied and brought back to the charge with some difficulty in about twenty minutes—And were again permitted to approach within fifty or sixty yards, when so deadly a fire issued from our redoubt and lines, that the British army were compelled a second time to give way, leaving the ground they had occupied covered with the killed and wounded. Generals Howe and Pigot, after much exertion in which they discovered the most undaunted bravery, were once more enabled to bring up a few of the companies to the attack, and General Clinton coming over about the same time to their assistance, with several pieces of artillery, which he so posted as to rake the whole extent of the lines, the redoubt was attacked on three sides—At this critical moment, the ammunition of the Americans gave out—they had no bayonets, and their little redoubt was filled by the assailants. Bravery was no longer of any avail, and Colonel Prescott, who commanded in the redoubt, gave the order for retreat, which was effected amidst a galling fire from a column of the British who had posted themselves on the back of the redoubt. The party at

the *rail* breast-work gallantly maintained their ground until *Prescott's* troops had safely passed them. A continued cross fire was kept up from the ships and batteries, during the whole time the Americans were retreating across the isthmus, which, however, was so badly directed that they suffered but little loss.

The British army followed the Provincials to *Bunker Hill*, not *in pursuit*, but because it was a more advantageous position to be occupied, and there entrenched themselves. The latter did the same on *Prospect Hill* a few miles further, on the road to Cambridge, and commanding the pass of the peninsula, thus investing the British troops as closely on Charlestown Neck as they had before been in Boston.

Viewed under all its circumstances, the battle of *Breed's Hill* is, unquestionably, one of the most interesting and memorable events, that ever engaged the pen of the historian. It was the first regular action of a long and bloody war, that resulted in the dismemberment of a mighty empire. On one side were the hardy and experienced veterans of Europe; on the other the raw undisciplined inhabitants of a new country. The British Generals were fighting for honour; the Americans for life and liberty. Men who had been friends and brothers, who had drank out of the same cup, who had sat together at the same social board, were now met in deadly opposition. Thousands of spectators, who from the lofty site of the scene of action, were enabled to see distinctly all that passed, looked on with an anxiety that doubted on which side to rest their hopes—on one side were fathers and brothers; on the other, friends connected by dearer ties than those of blood. Every house, and every height, in the vicinity of the battle, was crowded with

those who felt a deep interest in the dreadful conflict. The ascending flames of four hundred houses, from which the terrified and distressed inhabitants were flying in every direction, added a horrour to the scene, which defies the power of the pencil. But it was not the individuals alone who were engaged in the contest, or the thousands who regarded them with such anxious concern, whose fate depended on the issue of the day. The distant people of England and America had a deep stake in the conflict—perpetual slavery or independence might be the alternatives to one, to the other indelible disgrace, or undisputed mastery over a boundless continent. These are a few of the many features which gave a character of interest and importance to this battle, rarely found to accompany the mere encounter of contending armies.

Every man of the Provincials did his duty in this memorable battle; but, as must be the case on such an occasion, a few dauntless heroes were distinguished above their companions. Of these Colonel *Prescott* stands foremost—his defence of the redoubt even when filled by British troops, when he was without powder or bayonets, and when his men fought foot to foot with the buts of their guns, entitles him to the first rank of heroes. The fire from Colonel *Stark's* men, who were posted behind the *rail* and *grass* breastwork, was greatly destructive to the enemy. The three Generals who were on the field had neither of them a superiour or separate command; their services were voluntary, and they were given with promptness and bravery wherever they seemed to be most called for. Putnam had continued with the labouring party, during the whole night assisting not only by his counsels but by his personal labour to complete the works; General

Warren was killed early in the action, bravely fighting like a private soldier by the side of Prescott

On the side of the British it is impossible to overlook the cool and determined bravery of Generals Howe and Pigot, who several times advanced almost singly to the attack. The loss which their army sustained must prove that there never was an action more bloody or more vigorously sustained, for the numbers engaged, and for the time it lasted. Their loss amounted to *eleven hundred* men; of whom, 226 were killed, and of these 89 were officers. Among the officers killed were Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie, and Major *Pitcairn*—the officer who had so short a time before shown himself in so hateful a light to the Americans. He was considered a brave officer and was much regretted by the British, but his conduct at *Lexington* was cowardly and inhuman. They gained by the battle *five* pieces of cannon, and *thirty* wounded men.

The loss to the Americans in killed, wounded, and *missing* was 453. Among the killed were Major General Warren, Colonel Gardner, Lieutenant Colonel Parker, Major Moore, and Major M'Clary, the last of whom was killed by a random shot from one of the ships after the retreat of the Provincials across the isthmus. They lost the battle, but they won imperishable laurels. And though the British army acquired possession of the field of battle, it can hardly be said that they gained the victory. They were weakened, dispirited and straitened for provisions—they had lost the flower of their army, where they expected to meet scarcely any resistance; and they saw that they had hereafter to contend with men whose characters had been egregiously misrepresented.

The death of Major General Warren was deeply lamented by the Americans. He was endeared to them not less by his amiable disposition than by his manly understanding. He had taken an early part in the cause of his oppressed country, and his zeal. activity and talents were continually exerted for her service. The British knew his value to his countrymen; and his best eulogy is, that they triumphed in his fall.

Nothing can excuse or palliate the conduct of the British towards the people of *Charlestown*. Two months had scarcely passed since their houses had been opened to receive the routed, wounded, fainting corps of Lord Percy, to whom they had ministered every office of humanity, with all the assiduity and attention that hospitality could dictate, or charity require. Professions of gratitude were yet fresh upon the lips of many, while they applied the brands and exulted in the spreading conflagration. War is familiar with scenes of horrour, and rules of policy may some times justify the perpetration of deeds at which humanity must shudder. But even the rules of war have their limits among civilized nations, the transgressions of which no policy can excuse. The burning of Charlestown neither weakened the defence of the American works, nor aided the British in their assault of them. If it could in the remotest degree have led to either of these results, the act might be justified by the acknowledged principles of warfare: but this has not been pretended. It was a wanton act of enormity, that left indelible disgrace on the English name.

The British army gained nothing by the battle of *Breed's Hill*. The works which had been immediately thrown up by the Provincials on *Prospect Hill*,

effectually commanded the Charlestown Neck, and thus cut them off from all supplies in that quarter; and similar precautions were taken to invest them on the Roxbury side, so that their whole dependence for supplies rested upon their shipping, and the few marauding parties that were daring enough to risk a meeting with the Americans. The great number of wounded, and the daily deaths owing to the want of fresh provisions and good nursing, contributed greatly to the embarrassment of General Gage. He endeavoured to annoy the Americans as much as possible by continually discharging shells and balls upon every part of their exposed lines, but this served no other purpose than to waste his stock of ammunition, and accustom the Americans to the sound of artillery.

It was at this most unfavourable moment, that those inhabitants of Boston, who had remained in town after delivering up their arms, applied to General Gage for the fulfilment of his previous agreement. He refused to let them go, under the plea that they had not delivered up their arms. This was probably true as to some individuals, but it was not true as to the community, and was therefore a plea which General Gage ought not to have made. A dispute arose also with regard to the meaning of the term "effects," in which many of them were anxious to include their whole stock of *merchandize*, certainly contrary to the most liberal construction of the word, as well as to the intention of General Gage. Upon an impartial view of the whole conduct of General Gage, with regard to this affair, we cannot believe that it deserves the odium which has been thrown upon it. He was at that moment closely invested, destitute of provisions,

and liable to be driven away by the conflagration of the town. He knew the strong ties of friendship and kindred that bound the people of New-England together; and he knew that Boston would be safe, so long as it contained so many inhabitants, male and female, who were friendly to the interests of the Americans. General Gage was guilty of prevarication in professing to be actuated by the plea set forth in his proclamation, and so far his conduct was censurable; but he was certainly not bound, under all circumstances, to comply with an agreement on the 19th of June, which had been made for immediate fulfilment, under very different circumstances, a month before. A few of the inhabitants were afterwards permitted to leave the town, but not to carry their *effects*.

The Continental Congress, about this time, ordered *twelve Rifle companies* to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; and issued orders for the emission of *paper bills* to the amount of *two millions* of dollars, for the redemption of which, they pledged the *twelve confederated Colonies*.

With regard to an alliance with the Indian Tribes, the Congress came to a resolution that if any agent of the Ministry should excite them to hostilities against the Americans, or form any alliance with them, that in that case the Colonies ought to avail themselves of the assistance of all such Tribes as might be willing to enter into alliance with them. This was a fair and justifiable retaliation dictated by self defence.

The general satisfaction at the appointment of General Washington was evinced by the attentions every where shown to him on his way from Philadelphia to the Head Quarters at Cambridge. Escorts of gentlemen attended him the whole route, and a committee

of the Massachusetts Congress met him for the same purpose. In his replies to all the addresses that were made to him, he expressed his earnest desire that the differences with the Mother Country might be accommodated, and that our bonds of connexion might not be severed. On his arrival at Cambridge he found that the whole force which had been raised, did not amount to *fifteen thousand* men, and that these were employed in guarding an extent of at least twelve miles. His first duty was to deliver the commissions which had been entrusted to him by Congress, to the the eight Brigadiers, *Thomas, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Sullivan, Green* and *Pomeroy*, to whom he represented in strong and eloquent terms the necessity of union and activity in raising and disciplining their respective Brigades, and in preparing for defence at all points.

As a first step towards a new arrangement the army was divided into three commands: the right wing under General Ward, at Roxbury, the left under General Lee at Prospect Hill, and the centre at Cambridge under the Commander in Chief. The whole line was well fortified by strong redoubts and entrenchments, but the supply of powder was so extremely small that they would have been able to hold out but a short time against an attack. This was soon after remedied by a supply from New-Jersey. The *Rifle* companies from the Southern Colonies were raised with uncommon expedition, and joined the army early in August; so that the whole force now amounted to *sixteen thousand* men.

Repeated skirmishes took place during the summer, in which the Americans were generally successful, in bringing off cattle, hay and other articles, of

which the British began to stand greatly in need.—The Regiment of Cavalry which had arrived from Ireland, seemed to be rather a burden than otherwise to General Gage. He could make no use of them, and the addition of so many mouths to be fed from his precarious means, was seriously felt. Every thing concurred to distress and embarrass the troops who were thus cooped up in Boston. They had learned by dear experience, that the Americans were not such poltroons as they had been represented to be, and that nothing was to be obtained from them but by hard fighting. The most hazardous adventures were every day performed before their eyes, under the blaze of their artillery, by men who, it had been said, would fly at *the sight of a Grenadier's cap.* They thus found themselves obliged to risk their lives for means of sustenance, and they were seldom able by the most desperate enterprises to secure even a scanty pittance.

The Americans on the contrary, emboldened by the means that dispirited their enemy, grew daily more and more daring. They had, in defiance of a ship of war which lay within one mile, succeeded in destroying the Light House at the entrance of the harbour; and when the British at a subsequent time undertook to rebuild it, under the protection of a party of Marines, the Americans attacked and took the whole party prisoners.

CHAPTER XI.

Events of 1775 continued—Proceedings of Congress—declaration showing the causes of taking up arms—petition to the King—the answer of Lord Dartmouth—Proceedings of the Congress—Dr. Franklin made Post Master General—Colonial convention—Lord Dunmore's conduct—Design of Connolly frustrated—Lord Dunmore on board the Foway requires the attendance of the Virginia Burgesses—they refuse to attend—They appoint Patrick Henry Commander in Chief of the Colonial force—Dunmore declares freedom to the Slaves—Battle of the Great Bridge—Rivington's Press destroyed in New York—Destruction of several towns in New England—Expedition to Canada—Siege of Quebec—Colonel Allen made prisoner—Death of Montgomery—parallel drawn between Montgomery and Wolfe—Arnold wounded—his gallant conduct and laborious march—Licentious conduct of the British in Boston.

THE Colony of Georgia, notwithstanding their having been excepted from the operations of the restraining acts of Parliament, agreed to the Confederation of the Colonies and appointed Deputies to the Congress, early in July. On the 6th, The "United Colonies" agreed to the following Declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms; by which it will be seen that they were still anxious to restore the original compact between the Colonies and Great Britain.

"If it were possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never right-

ly resistable, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that Kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitick purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so as to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

"Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of Barbarians. Societies or

Governments, vested with perfect Legislatures, were formed under charters from the Crown, and a harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confesssed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the Minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publickly declared that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and, gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new Ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and then of subduing her faithful friends.

"These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenour of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of Colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced

to adopt the pernicious project, and, assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubts concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits, for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the Legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own Legislature, solemnly confirmed by the Crown; for exempting the 'murderers' of Colonists from legal trial, and, in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring Province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in times of profound peace.—It has also been resolved in Parliament, that Colonists, charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

"But should we enumerate our injuries in detail?—By one statute it is declared that Parliament can 'of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever.'—What is to defend us against so enormous so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an Ame-

rican revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increased ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language. But Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the united Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the 5th day of last September. We resolved again to offer our humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth would supplant our attachment to liberty.——This we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

"Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech. Our petition, though we are told it was a decent one, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons, in their address, in the month of February,

said,—'that a rebellion at that time actually existed within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme Legislature.' Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an Act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

"Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band, of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the City of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where Colony should bid against Colony, all of whom were informed what ransom should redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us at the point of the bayonet the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify if possible to gratify, Ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been

dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances, to accept them would be to deserve them.

"Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who, in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusett's Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said Province at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment; murdered eight of the inhabitants of the said Province, and wounded many others—From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another part of the inhabitants of the same Province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined in that town by the General, their Governour; and having in order to procure their admission, entered into a treaty with him; it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms; but, in open violation of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governour ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their

owners to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few, who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

"By this perfidy, wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wished to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty, and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

"The General further emulating his Ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to 'declare them all, either by name or description to be rebels and traitors,' to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial!—His troops have butchered our countrymen; have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provision are intercepted; and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

"We have received certain intelligence, that General Carleton, the Governour of Canada, is instigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies amongst us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of Administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and fa-

mine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom, which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just: Our union is perfect: Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up into our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly before God and the world declare: that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator had graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabated firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than live like slaves.

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them, that we mean not to dissolve the union which has so long and so happily subsisted be-

tween us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder condition than servitude or death.

"In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore fathers, and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

"With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and impartial Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to conduct us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war."

In their Petition to the King, they recapitulated the great advantages which Great Britain had derived from the Colonies before the connexion had been broken by civil dissensions, and the happiness which the Colonies themselves experienced from that connexion, so long as the Government refrained from unjust and

arbitrary exactions. They called to his Majesty's remembrance the share which they had borne in the late French war, and the alacrity with which they had contributed to its success both in men and money. They expressed their astonishment that while all the rest of his Majesty's dominions were enjoying the ease and the honours of the glorious peace of 1763, a new system of regulations should be adopted for the government of the Colonies, which effectually excluded them from all the blessings of peace. "Nor were their anxities, say they, alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the Mother Country; for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain."

They thought it unnecessary to repeat the various artifices, pretences, and severities, which his Majesty's Ministers from time to time resorted to, for executing this impolitick plan—it was enough they had been such as to force the Colonies to take up arms in their defence—an event which they deeply and sincerely deplored.

After professing a most ardent attachment to his Majesty's person, family and government, and deploring every event tending to weaken it, they earnestly entreated his Majesty to interpose his authority and influence to procure them relief from the oppressive system of the Ministers; and that he would be pleased to direct some mode by which *the united applications of his faithful Colonists* to the Throne might be improved into a *happy and permanent reconciliation.*

This humble and respecful petition to his Majesty was subscribed by every member of the Congress,

and forwarded to Mr. *Penn* and Mr. *Lee*, who in person delivered it to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary. But his Lordship after a delay of some days told them that "*no answer would be given*."

This was the *second* petition of the General Congress in America to his Majesty; and they were seconded by petitions from the citizens and traders of London signed by more than two thousand names—But his Majesty, whatever might have been his private feelings, was under an influence very different from that of regard to the complaints of his Colonies.

If it had been possible for any thing to have taught wisdom to the British Ministry, they might have learned from the style and character of these papers, that the only way to recover the Colonies, would have been to order home the Troops of his Majesty, and to repeal every measure which had been taken with regard to America, since the conquest of Canada in 1762. While they were willing, and even anxious, for the most part, to return to their obedience to the King, they were equally determined not to submit to the smallest infraction of their natural or chartered rights. At this moment a reconciliation might have taken place—but the reconciliation must have disgraced the sagacity of Lord North, and the happiness and interests of millions were made subservient to his *consistency* of character.

Neither the Congress nor the army remained idle during the interval that elapsed before they could know the result of their petitions and addresses, on the measures of the Ministry. The former went on to make such regulations with regard to the whole people as the nature of their political situation seemed to require. They established a *General Post Of-*

fice, at the head of which they placed Dr. Franklin; and a general Hospital calculated for an army of twenty thousand men. They regulated also the apportionment of the general expences upon the several Colonies; made addresses to their Indian neighbours, and thus gradually assumed all the functions of a regular Government. But before we speak of the further operations of the main army, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of the proceedings in the several Colonies.

In obedience to advice from the Continental Congress, all the Colonies, whose forms of government had been invaded by the tyranniacl acts of Parliament, or the usurped authority of the Governours, had established conventions or associations, and declared themselves free from obedience to the King's officers. Connecticut and Rhode Island continued their old forms, the friends of liberty in those Provinces having always maintained a large majority in their Legislative Assemblies. They were indefatigable in their exertions to serve the common cause, to which they were doubly bound, by compact with Massachusetts, and by an agreement with the General Congress. A large portion of the present army was composed of the people of those two Provinces, and New-Hampshire.

The Province of *Maryland* in conformity to the recommendation of the Congress, formed a Convention on the 26th of July, and entered into articles of association by which they pledged themselves to each other and to America, to support the opposition. The Association also formed a kind of militia law, by which every man between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, was required to enrol himself in a company of militia,

and resolved upon raising *forty companies* of *minute men*. A "committee of safety" was appointed with authority to act for the association in its recess, and a *paper currency* established to the amount of *one hundred thousand pounds*. The members of the Association or Convention from each individual county, acted as a committee of safety for their respective counties; and to the vigilance of one of these committees was due the discovery and discomfiture of a plan, which if effected might have brought irremedable misery upon all the Southern Colonies.

It has been seen that Lord Dunmore had threatened to *free the blacks* and arm them against the inhabitants of Virginia. This was not altogether an idle threat on the part of his Lordship—but fearing for his own safety if he carried it wholly into execution, he deemed it prudent to go about it in a somewhat circuitous way. He found an accomplice suited to his detestable designs in a fellow named *Connolly*, a native of Pennsylvania, as some affirm, but most probably according to others, a *Scotch renegado*.—This fellow, judging from the disposition which his Lordship had evinced, that he might be raised into notice through his favour, proposed to him a plan for engaging the Indians of the Ohio to attack the unprepared and defenceless inhabitants of the frontier settlements, and thus drive them to seek the protection of his Majesty's troops. *Connolly* had already arranged the whole plan, not only with the Indians but with the unsuspecting Americans and militia officers in their neighbourhood, and now only wanted a commission and legal authority to act. Before his Lordship could act, however, it was necessary to consult the *Commander in Chief* of his Majesty's forces at

Boston; and Connolly himself was sent on to General Gage, to develope his scheme. It was sometime before the General could be made to see either the practicability or the policy of the scheme, but he at length consented to give Connolly the commission of a Lieutenant Colonel with power to raise a regiment on the western frontiers, and authority to equip them from the military depots in that quarter. Thus provided with power and instructions, Connolly took the road to Detroit, but was seized on his passage through Maryland and taken before the Committee at *Fredericktown* with all his correspondence and a full developement of his plan. Thus was this iniquitous scheme frustrated.

South Carolina was one of the first Colonies to adopt a Provincial Congress. Their Association was formed on the 2d of June, and *Henry Laurens*, a name afterwards conspicuous in the councils of the country, was unanimously chosen their President.—In their declaration, they expressed an earnest desire to be reconciled to Great Britain *upon constitutional principles*, and concluded by pronouncing "all those persons inimical to the liberties of the Colonies who should refuse to subscribe this association."

Like the other Colonies they chose a council of safety, which acted as an executive branch of government.

They resolved to raise *two regiments of Infantry* and *one of Rangers* for the service of Congress, and to put the Province in a state of defence by a proper regulation of the militia. They followed the example of the Eastern Colonies in issuing a *paper currency*. They also adopted an effectual method of obtaining the signatures of the people to the Associ-

tion by *publishing the names* of those who refused, and breaking off all intercourse with them.

In the midst of these preparations for strenuous opposition it was recollected that the supply of *powder* in the whole Colony did not exceed 3,000 lbs.; and an expedition consisting of *twelve men* was fitted out at Charleston for the purpose of obtaining a supply from the Coast of East Florida. Near St. Augustine they met with a vessel having on board *twelve British Grenadiers*, which they boarded by surprise and took out 15000lbs of powder, for which they gave the captain a *bill of exchange* and returned with their booty to Beaufort, and thence through the interior of the country to Charleston. A more spirited or useful enterprise scarcely occurred during the war. But it was the season of adventure and every heart seemed to be nerved with more than common valour.

In *North Carolina* the people were not so fortunate in a Governour as in their sister Province. Lord William Campbell, though a firm supporter of the King, was nevertheless mild and conciliatory in his manners and conduct. Governour Martin, on the contrary, was furious in his opposition to the people, and united with Lord Dunmore in all his schemes to excite the Indians to join his standard against the friends of liberty. He had raised a considerable party of Scotch emigrants, with whose assistance he made an attempt to fortify his palace at Newbern; but the party of the people outnumbered his adherents, and compelled him to take refuge elsewhere, leaving his artillery to fall into their hands. He retired to *Fort Johnson*, and the Council of Safety declared it infamous for any person to hold communication with him. They resolved upon raising a *thousand* men, and plac-

ing the Colony in a state of defence; and to enable them to do this, they agreed upon a *paper currency*. Soon after the Governour had left his palace, they discovered secreted in his garden and cellar, a large quantity of powder, balls, iron, lead, and other military stores.

In *Virginia*, the zeal and activity which had been excited by the spirited enterprise of *Patrick Henry*, still continued to manifest themselves in various parts of the Colony. It has been already observed, that the Governour's family, alarmed by the threatening march of Mr. Henry towards Williamsburg, had taken refuge on board the *Fowey* man of war. Only a few weeks elapsed after this, before Lord Dunmore himself was constrained by his fear to adopt the same means of personal safety.

Soon after fixing his residence on board the *Fowey* his Lordship required the House of Burgesses to *attend him there;* but instead of obeying the requisition, they passed sundry resolutions, in which they declared that his Lordship's message was "a high breach of the rights and privileges of the House"—and that his conduct gave them reason to fear "that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of the Colony."—A few days after this, his Lordship's family sailed from Virginia for England—a circumstance which led to still stronger suspicions that his Lordship intended an immediate commencement of hostilities. On the 24th of July the Colonial Convention met—they appointed a Committee of Safety—passed an ordinance for regulating the militia, and for raising a regular force of *two regiments*, the command of which was given to *Patrick Henry*—who was also made the *Commander of all the forces rais-*

ed and to be raised, for the defence of the Colony, the same appointment which had been some years before given to Washington. The regiments were quickly raised and quartered at Williamsburg for the protection of the city—determined to commit no act of offensive war, but ready as soon as the first blow was struck to resist, to the last extremity.

The ships of war, belonging to his Majesty, which had been cruising in the James and York rivers during the whole summer, had committed many petty acts of depredation and plunder, along the shores, which the people now eagerly desired to resent, and an opportunity of gratification soon offered. The Captain of the *Otter* sloop of war, on the 2d of September, ventured upon one of his plundering expeditions in a *Tender,* and was driven ashore near Hampton by a violent tempest. Conscious that he deserved no kindness at the hands of the inhabitants, Captain *Squire* and his crew left the vessel on the shore, and made their escape in the night. She was discovered the next morning by the people, who observing that she was abandoned, and knowing her to be the favourite marauder of Captain Squire, boarded and set fire to her. This roused the Captain's resentment to the highest pitch of fury—he threatened instant destruction to the town, and attempted soon afterwards to carry his threat into execution; but in in the mean time the Committee of Safety at Williamsburg, having heard of it, detached Colonel *Woodford* with three companies to repel the attack. The assailants, on board several armed vessels, which had been drawn close up to the town in the night, began to fire upon the town, but were so warmly received by Colonel *Woodford's* party, that they were soon

glad to make a confused and precipitate flight, with considerable loss.

This affair produced a proclamation from his Lordship (who continued to hold his head quarters on board of one of the ships,) in which he not only declared martial law, but *freedom to all the slaves who would join his standard.* By this means he soon collected a crew well suited to his infernal designs; and having fortified himself at the Great Bridge, near Norfolk, continued for some time to commit such acts of wanton barbarity and contemptible depredations, as to disgust even those who had until now continued friendly to the cause of the King. The Committee of Safety finding themselves called upon to attempt something which might put a stop to his Lordship's savage warfare, again detached Colonel *Woodford* at the head of *eight hundred* men, to drive him from his hold.

Colonel *Woodford* having arrived within cannon shot of Lord Dunmore's position, halted and threw up some hasty entrenchments. The ground was wet, miry, and cold—his men were, many of them, barefoot, his stock of ammunition small, and his arms, for the most part, in his own words, "rather to be considered as *lumber*, than fit to be put into men's hands, in the face of an enemy." Lord Dunmore's force consisted of *two hundred* regulars, a large body of Norfolk *Volunteers*, and about *four hundred* slaves.

Lord Dunmore, hearing that the Provincials amounted only to 300 men badly armed, conceived the design of surprising them in their entrenchments; and for this purpose Captain *Leslie*, of the royal navy, with the *regulars* and *slaves*, crossed the Bridge before day light, and entered the camp of the Provincials,

just as they were all paraded under arms. Captain Fordyce advanced to the attack with the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, with a courage that deserved a better fate—he was among the first to fall. The whole number of grenadiers were either killed, wounded or made prisoners; and the rest of the royal party were obliged to make a rapid retreat, leaving sixty two men killed and wounded. Disappointed in their hopes, the Governour's party abandoned their works, the following night, and retired to their shipping—leaving *Woodford*, who was now joined by Colonel Howe from North Carolina, the complete command of Norfolk.

The people of *Pennsylvania*, *New Jersey* and the Counties on the *Delaware*, continued to aid the common cause by vigorous preparations of defence. Among these was the invention of a singular kind of *chevaux de frize*, which they sunk in the Delaware for the purpose of impeding the entrance of ships. Pennsylvania, it has already been said, had supplied *eight companies* of riflemen to join the Continental Army. Besides these several battalions were raised for the defence of the Colony.

In *New York*, considerable fears existed among the friends of liberty, that their opponents would be able to succeed in withdrawing this Colony from the confederation. The troops which had been expected from England, were ordered on their arrival to proceed to Boston where they were now wanted—so that this source of discontent was entirely removed from the citizens of New-York. And the conduct of the Governour was for some time so moderate that there seemed to be no grounds of dissatisfaction to justify the people in their opposition to the mea-

sures of Administration. But this calm did not continue very long: Governour Tryon had given up none of his zeal for the service of his Majesty, and the friends of liberty took care to omit no occasion of exciting him to harsh and obnoxious measures. Several smart skirmishes took place between the people and the armed ships in the harbour, in one of which the former headed by Captain *Sears* seized and carried off the cannon from the Battery, in defiance of continued broadsides from the Asia man of war, and a few days afterwards the same indefatigable son of freedom, carried off Rivington's Printing Press, and thus broke up one of the most powerful engines of governmental influence.

But the Colonies of New England seemed to call forth all the most rigorous efforts of the Royal force, by land and water. The *Falcon* sloop of war having fallen in with two American schooners from the West Indies, gave chase and captured one, while the other made her escape and got safe into *Gloucester* harbour. Captain Linzey pursued to the mouth of the harbour, where he anchored; and having armed and manned three boats with swivels and muskets, and about forty men, despatched them to bring off the schooner. They were so warmly received by the militia who had collected on the shore, that the Captain thought it necessary to send a reinforcement, and to commence a cannonading of the town. A very smart action commenced, which was kept up for several hours, and resulted in the complete defeat of the assailants—the Americans having made themselves masters of both schooners, all the boats, and about thirty-five prisoners.

The reception which the British met with at Gloucester, excited them to deeds of savage revenge upon all the defenceless towns on the coast, which it was declared, should be reduced to ashes, unless the inhabitants consented to an unconditional compliance with all their demands. One of the brutes employed to conduct these enterprises, wrote to the inhabitants that he would "give them two hours to remove the *human species*," after which nothing like humanity need be expected from him. The little town of *Stonington* in Connecticut was the first to experience the effects of this fury. *Sir James Wallace* with the *Rose* man of war and two schooners, poured in their shells and shot upon the unarmed inhabitants, for a whole day. All that they gained by this exploit was to kill two old men, to shatter two or three houses, and to carry off a small vessel laden with melasses.

Their next attack was upon the coast of *Rhode Island*. In the middle of a dark and stormy night, the inhabitants of *Bristol* were summoned by Captain *Mowatt*, (one of the most inhuman of the many savages that were sent to scourge the Americans,) to deliver up their arms and ammunition, to send on board a supply of provisions, and some of the principal persons of the town, as *hostages*, that they should *not unite* with their country. Upwards of one hundred cannon were fired at this unhappy town in the course of the night. The old and the young and the sick were compelled in the dark and rain to leave their beds and their homes to seek a refuge from the flames in which their dwellings were wrapped.

Captain Wallace was in the mean time engaged in a similar exhibition of brutality on the islands about Newport, where the stealing of sheep and the murder

of innocent old men, constituted his *amusement*. But it will be now necessary to attend to the operations of the main army.

The Americans had early in August entrenched themselves on *Ploughed Hill*—one of the eminences of the Charlestown isthmus, and within the range of the guns of Bunker Hill, where the British had remained since the battle of the 19th of June. While they were engaged in fortifying themselves, all the guns that could be brought to play upon them from the forts and floating batteries, kept up a continued firing: more than three hundred shot and shells were thrown, but without accomplishing the purpose of driving the Americans from their works. The British therefore desisted and left them for some time in quiet possession.

While the British army were cooped up in Boston, without the power of much annoyance to the surrounding country, the Congress conceived the design of sending a force into Canada for the purpose of putting a stop to the preparations which it was known that General Carleton, the Governour of that Province, was making, for aiding his Majesty's forces on this side of the Lakes. For this purpose, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with *two regiments* of New-York militia, and a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to about two thousand men, were ordered to move towards Ticonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans, since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen. General Schuyler being detained at Albany, Montgomery proceeded alone to *Crown point*, where he received intelligence that several armed vessels which lay at the fort of St. Johns, were preparing to enter the Lake Champlain for the purpose of impeding the passage of his troops. This

determined him, though not more than half of his troops had arrived, to cross over to the *Isle aux Noix* at the entrance of the Sorel, and thus blockade the vessels which lay in that river. He had scarcely succeeded in this design, before he was joined by General Schuyler; and it was determined, after publishing a declaration to the Canadians setting forth their friendly intentions towards them, to proceed immediately against the fort of St. John's. With this view they proceeded with their batteaux for a few miles down the Sorel, and landed on a swampy ground through which with great difficulty they marched to within two miles of the Fort. Here they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, which after a smart skirmish, they dispersed with a trifling loss, and continued their march; but upon coming within view of the fort and seeing its strength, General Schuyler, whose force did not amount to a thousand men, thought it prudent to return to the Isle aux Noix, without attempting its reduction. The General, being then obliged to return to Albany to settle a treaty with the Indians, left the command solely to Montgomery; and never was there a general better qualified for the duties which now devolved upon him. It was absolutely necessary before he could go against Montreal, that the fort of St. John's should be reduced. It was well provided and strongly garrisoned, and Montgomery was but poorly provided with ammunition. His reinforcements had arrived, and as a preparatory measure he detatched Colonel Ethan Allen, with about eighty men to secure the Indians who had joined General Carleton. Colonel Allen having effected his object was returning to headquarters when he was met by Major Brown, who with a party of Pro-

vincials had been scouring the country; and who gave him information that the town of Montreal was completely without defence, and that it might be easily surprised. With this view Major Brown proposed, that he should return, cross the St. Lawrence at Longeuil and attack the town to the north, while he himself with his two hundred men would cross above the town and cooperate with him. Colonel Allen whose enterprising and dauntless spirit delighted in difficult adventures acceded to the proposal. He crossed over with his little band of *eighty* in the night, but waited in vain for the appearance of Brown to cooperate with him. Early in the morning General Carleton at the head of a few regulars and several hundred Canadian militia marched to attack him. Allen fought with desperate courage until *fifteen* of his men were killed and *seven* wounded; but courage was unavailing against such superiority of numbers; he was at last compelled to yield, and he and his brave associates were instantly *loaded with irons* by General *Carleton's* orders, and in that condition sent to England.

It is impossible to think of the fate of this heroick partisan without regretting that wild spirit of independence which spurned even at the most necessary and proper subordination, in our Revolutionary fathers. If Colonel Allen had consulted the General, as was unquestionably his duty, the whole fate of the Canadian expedition might have been changed. He would either have received such reinforcements as would have rendered his object attainable, without hazard, or he would have been forbidden to undertake it; and the assistance of his daring courage and

skill might have prevented the fate which subsequently befel General Montgomery before Quebec.

The supply of ammunition with which General Montgomery was provided was much too small to render an immediate siege of St. John's prudent; and he would probably have been compelled to remain inactive until too late in the season to effect his object, but for the information of some Canadians, that the little fortress of *Chamblee*, which was but feebly garrisoned, contained a good store of that article. He accordingly made himself master of that place, and to his great satisfaction found *one hundred and twenty barrels* of powder, besides a large quantity of other military stores and provisions. The expedition against this fortress was conducted by Majors *Brown* and *Livingston*. They found here the standard ot the 7th Regiment, which was immediately sent to the Congress.

General Montgomery being thus enabled to carry on the siege of St. John's, proceeded to erect his works and to prepare for a general assault. General Carleton, in the mean time, hearing of the situation of St. John's, prepared to raise a force for its relief. He had posted Colonel M'Lean with a regiment of Scotch emigrants at the mouth of the Sorel, and having raised about a *thousand* men at Montreal he attempted to cross at *Longueil* for the purpose of forming a junction and marching to the relief of St. John's. But Colonel Ward who was stationed at Longueil with *three hundred Green Mountain Boys* and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats that the General was glad to return to Montreal.

When the news of this repulse reached Montgomery, he sent a flag to Major *Preston*, who commanded

the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender; as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse and a further resistance could only lead to an useless waste of lives. Major Preston solicited a few days to consider the proposal, being still impressed with the hope that General Carleton might be able to come to his assistance; but upon his request being refused, he accepted the honourable terms of capitulation which General Montgomery offered to him, and surrendered his garrison prisoners of war. The British officers spoke highly of the polite regard and attention shown to them by Montgomery, who permitted them to wear their swords and to take off all their baggage and effects. The fort surrendered on the 3d of November. Before we take notice of General Montgomery's further operations it will be necessary to return to General Washington, who had been planning a cooperation with him on the other side of Canada.

About the middle of September General Washington, having planned an expedition which even at the present day would be looked upon as almost impracticable, detached *eleven hundred* men, and gave the command of them to Colonel *Arnold*, an officer whose bold enterprise and daring courage equalled that of the unfortunate Allen. He was ordered to embark at *Newburyport*, at the mouth of the *Merrimack*, and proceed by sea into the *Kennebeck river*, in the Province of Maine. Two hundred batteaux were provided for them at *Gardiner*, a small town at the head of the navigation of large vessels on the Kennebeck, and there on the 22 of September Arnold embarked with his men, to proceed as far as was practicable up the river. The officers with him were, Colonels *Christopher Green* and *Roger Enos*, and Majors *Meigs* and

Bigelow. It is almost impossible to conceive the labour, hardships and difficulties which this detachment had to encounter in their progress up this rapid stream, frequently interrupted by falls, where they were obliged to land and carry the boats upon their shoulders, until they surmounted them—through a country wholly uninhabited, with a scanty supply of provisions, the season cold and rainy, and the men daily dropping down with fatigue, sickness and hunger. *Arnold* was indefatigable in his endeavours to alleviate the distresses of his men, but to procure provisions for them was not in his power. They were at one time reduced to so great an extremity of hunger that the *dogs* belonging to the army were killed and eaten, and many of the soldiers devoured their leather *cartouch boxes.*

On the 13th of October Colonel Arnold met with an Indian to whom he imprudently entrusted a letter for General Schuyler, giving him information of his progress, which the Indian delivered into the hands of Governour Carleton; and thus in all probability was the glorious enterprise in the end frustrated. In this situation of distress they arrived at the head of the river *Chaudiere,* which empties into the St. Lawrence near Quebec. Here Colonel Arnold thought it adviseable to send back his sick, and gave orders to that effect to Colonel *Enos;* but that officer, having held a council of his own officers, undertook without the authority or knowledge of Arnold, to return with his whole regiment, alleging as an excuse the great scarcity of provisions, and the great distance from any supplies. Colonel Arnold's force was thus reduced to about *seven hundred* men. With these, however, he continued his progress and on the 4th of November,

came to a human habitation, the first that had been seen for a distance of five hundred miles. The French Canadians received them with kindness, and supplied them with a variety of provisions, which were eagerly devoured by the starving soldiers.

Colonel Arnold was now within twenty five leagues of Quebec, having surmounted all the difficulties of his arduous enterprise. His road now lay through an inhabited country, where the people liberally supplied the wants of his men; in this situation we shall leave him to return to General Montgomery.

Colonel *Warner*, who with his *Green Mountain Boys* had so effectually stopped the progress of General Carleton, turned his attention to *M'Lean* and his Highland Emigrants, whom he soon forced to abandon their station on the *Sorel*, and to retreat to Quebec. Having effected this, he erected a Battery at the junction of that river with the St. Lawrence, where he was joined by Colonel Eaton who had been sent for this purpose, which they managed with such skill that General Carleton found himself completely blocked up with his small force at Montreal. While he was in this situation General Montgomery arrived from St. John's, and took possession without opposition, on the 13th of November—General Carleton having abandoned the town to its fate, and made his escape down the river in the night, in a small canoe with muffled oars. Montgomery thus obtained possession of all the naval force of the river, consisting of eleven armed vessels, under the command of General Prescott, who with 120 Regulars, and a large body of Canadian Volunteers, surrendered as prisoners of war. He obtained besides a large supply of all those articles of which his army stood most in need, particularly of

woollen cloths, with which leived to clothe his troops.

Arnold and his party had in the mean time arrived at *Point Levi*, opposite the town of Quebec, where he became convinced of the treachery of the Indian to whom he had entrusted his letter on the Kennebeck. The boats which he expected to find there to transport his troops across the river had been removed, and the enemy were no longer in a state to be surprised. Arnold, however, was not to be deterred from attempting something against the town—he calculated strongly upon the defection of the inhabitants; and having supplied himself with canoes, he crossed the river in the night, and gained possession of the heights of Abraham. Here, though he had no artillery and scarcely half the number of men that composed the garrison of the town, he made a bold experiment to try the loyalty of the enemies' troops, by sending a flag to *summon them to surrender.* But no message would be admitted, and Arnold found himself compelled to retire to some more comfortable place of quarters for his men, and await the arrival of General Montgomery.

General Carleton, who had escaped the vigilance of the Provincial Batteries at Montreal, arrived safely at Quebec, immediately after Arnold had withdrawn his troops, and began to prepare for a vigorous defence. His garrison consisted of upwards of *fifteen hundred* men, *four hundred and fifty* of whom were British seamen, one company of the 7th Regiment, and M'Lean's Highlanders. All who refused to bear arms were compelled immediately to quit the town with their families and effects, and every pre-

[illegible] the necessity of the case demanded [illegible]

[illegible] combined to render the situation of Ge[illegible]ontgomery, though a conqueror, extremely unpleasant. The season was far advanced, and the severities of the climate induced many of his men to desert—the time for which many others were enlisted was about to expire; and few were willing to encounter the hardships of a long march through the deep snows of December. Nothing but personal attachment to the noble character of their commander could have kept a single regiment together. After new clothing all his men at Montreal, and rendering them in other respects as comfortable as the magazines there would admit of; and having taken the necessary measures to ensure a supply of provisions on the march, the General pushed on through every difficulty, and joined Arnold on the 1st of December. His appearance was a source of great joy to the Colonel's troops, as he had not forgotten to bring with him a store of such supplies as he knew them to want.

Montgomery lost no time after his arrival in preparing for an immediate attack. The whole of his force did not amount to more than the troops of the garrison; but he attempted by assuming an appearance of greater strength to weaken the confidence of the latter, and thereby accomplish his object without bloodshed. For this purpose on the 5th of December, he addressed a letter to the Governour, in which he urged him by every argument calculated to produce an effect upon his humanity or his fears, to spare his garrison the dreadful consequences of a storm, by an immediate surrender. General Carleton, however,

was too old a soldier to be deceived by appearances—he knew the difficulties under which Montgomery laboured, and was convinced that if his garrison could hold out for a few days, the climate would compel the Provincials to abandon the siege. Montgomery's messenger was fired at, and all communication forbidden. In this situation General Montgomery commenced a bombardment from five small mortars, which he kept up for several days, with the hope of throwing the garrison into confusion. But it seemed to produce no effect—a Battery of six guns was next opened upon them, at the distance of seven hundred yards, with no better success.—The garrison remained insensible to any impressions of alarm.

General Montgomery now found himself under circumstances much more delicate and embarrassing, than those which had, sixteen years before, environed the hero Wolfe at the same spot. Several feet of snow covered the ground—his troops had undergone every hardship that it was possible to suffer, and it seemed now almost impossible for human nature to endure more.—He had arrived before Quebec a conqueror, his fame had reached his countrymen and his Commander at Cambridge, and they would expect a continuance of success. He remembered moreover his parting words to the beloved partner of his bosom—"you shall never blush for your Montgomery," he had said, when he gave her the last embrace. While these feelings and recollections were alternately elevating and depressing his noble spirit, he made a desperate resolution to attempt the enemy's works by escalade. And such was the skill with which his plan had been formed, that no doubt can remain, that he would ultimately have succeeded, had not his whole

scheme been communicated to the garrison by some scoundrels who deserted him at this critical moment.

Montgomery soon perceived that the garrison were prepared; and it became necessary to change his whole plan of operations. Having disposed his army into four divisions, two of which he intended should make feigned attacks, while Arnold and himself should be engaged in real attacks upon two opposite sides, before daylight on the 31st of Desember, in a thick fall of snow, Montgomery advanced at the head of the New-Yorkers. Here again his fate resembled Wolfe's, for before he could reach the place from whence he intended to commence the attack, the signal had been given through mistake, and the whole garrison were alarmed. It was too late now to make another change in the plan of attack, and Montgomery pushed on—he was compelled to advance through a narrow path between a precipice and overhanging rocks—he had seized and passed the first barrier, and was boldly advancing to the second, with a few of his bravest companions, when a discharge of grape shot from the cannon that were placed there, stopped the progress of this brave and excellent officer, and destroyed the hopes of the enterprise. Upon the fall of the General, the officer upon whom the command of his party devolved, retired without making any attempt to pursue the advantages already gained. Some of his bravest officers had shared the glorious destiny of Montgomery, or Quebec must have fallen to the united efforts of this party and that under Arnold.

At the moment Montgomery was advancing on the side of Cape Diamond, Arnold with his hardy New-Englanders, attacked them on the side of St. Roques,

where after a severe conflict of an hour he carried the enemy's first battery. In this onset Arnold had his leg broken by a shot and was carried off to his camp. Colonel *Morgan*, however, who succeeded him, was well qualified to lead on, which he did with such vigour, that he soon made himself master of the second barrier. But the troops of the garrison, freed from their apprehension of attack at any other point, were now enabled to turn their undivided force upon Colonel Morgan and his party; and with a view to cut off his retreat, a detachment with several field pieces issued through one of the sally ports and attacked him in the rear, while in front he had to oppose the whole remaining strength of the garrison. The stand which this little band of raw Provincials made against three times their number, is sufficient evidence that nothing but the death of Montgomery and the subsequent retreat of the party on the opposite side, could have prevented the fall of Quebec and the surrender of Carleton. After a desperate and obstinate defence of three hours, the assailants were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Arnold wounded as he was, with the shattered remnants of his army, now reduced to seven hundred men, though he was compelled to abandon the siege, still continued to blockade the town and to cut off all supplies from the garrison.

In Montgomery, the Americans lost one of the bravest and most accomplished Generals that ever led an army to the field. But he was not more illustrious for his skill and courage as an officer than he was estimable for his private virtues. He possessed a mind adorned with every accomplishment, and a person in

which every manly grace shone with conspicuous lustre. His was

> "A combination, and a form, indeed,
> Where every God did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man."

General Montgomery had borne the commission of a Colonel in the war of 1759, and was fighting by the side of Wolfe, when that Spartan hero fell. His bravery and his worth were then acknowledged by the British army, and they were proud to regard him as a friend and brother; but notwithstanding the many professions of attachment and esteem for his character, his body would have been thrown with the heap of slain, uncoffined and unmarked, into the same indiscriminate pit, but for the Lieutenant Governour; who, urged by the solicitations of the lady whom he afterwards married, reluctantly procured a coffin of the roughest sort, and thus apart from the rest, buried his former friend and companion in arms. From this spot, after mouldering in the grave for more than forty two years, the bones of this gallant soldier were removed by his fellow citizens of New-York, and deposited in a tomb more worthy of him.

The resemblance in the character, conduct, and destiny of Wolfe and Montgomery, is too striking to be passed over without a remark. Montgomery had been in some measure the pupil of Wolfe; under his guidance he had learned the first rudiments of war; and in his career of glory, he saw an example worthy of imitation. We have seen the difficulties under which Wolfe had to struggle, and we have seen the noble daring which led him, perhaps against the suggestions of prudence, to attempt to surmount them. He lived, as he expressed himself, but to fight Mont-

calm on equal ground—this accomplished he had consummated the only object of his existence, and died "*content.*"—Wolfe was fighting for his King under the orders of his Ministry—and here lies the striking difference in the lives and fortunes of these heroes.—Montgomery entered on the expedition with the name of Rebel—He ventured his fame, his character, his life, in the service of revolted Colonies—but it was to secure to these Colonies the enjoyment of liberty under the rights of the constitution. For this he sacrificed the tender endearments of conjugal felicity, and at the head of an undisciplined body of men, placed himself in opposition to a veteran General. The skill which he displayed was equal to the fortitude which such an enterprise demanded. He had not only to contend against a formidable enemy, but against the severities of a climate to which none of his men were accustomed. His having in one night constructed a *battery of ice,* will at once show his military skill and industry and the intense coldness of the climate.—With a discontented, starving and mutinous army, he pushed boldly forward in search of that victory which had cheered the parting moments of Wolfe—But destiny had marked a different course for him; death arrested his steps too soon. He was cut off in the onset, and none was left to follow the plan which he had marked out—his last sigh was embittered by anticipated defeat.

Victory brings its own lustre; and when she entwines her garlands around the head of an insensate corpse, they seem from that single circumstance to display a lovelier verdure: death gives a more touching interest, a deeper pathos to the fate of the hero—the million will admire, and posterity will always ap-

plaud. But how does the tragedy deepen when the hero expires on the field of battle, surrounded not by the beams of victory, but by the darkness of defeat. He sees nothing to cheer his parting moments—nothing in anticipation but publick obloquy and that reproach which seems inseparable from want of success. This reproach and this obloquy did pursue the shade of Montgomery: his heroism was stigmatized with the character of rashness—of insanity. But let it be remembered, that nothing but the difference of a few hours in the term of his life, prevented that victory which consecrated the same rashness in Wolfe, and impressed upon it the character of glory.

The turn of a die decides the fate of an army; and the same thing is desperation in one, or the highest effort of military skill in another, according as defeat or success shall attend the enterprise. Posterity, that looks at the records of history unbiassed, will observe no difference in the merits of Wolfe and Montgomery. They were both heroes—both entitled to the chaplet of immortal fame.

While these thing were going on in the North, General Gage took his departure for England, leaving his troops, and the wretched inhabitants of Boston, almost in a state of destitution. On his departure the command of the army devolved on General *Howe*, whose first act was to issue a proclamation condemning to military execution any inhabitant who should attempt to quit the town without license. Having done this he and his colleague *Burgoyne*, instead of keeping up the ridiculous cannonading with which General Gage had daily amused the American army, gave a loose to their merriment in a different way. Burgoyne, who was something of an author as well as soldier, employ-

ed himself in writing *farces*, which the idle officers played every night for the amusement of the town.

This appeared a favourable moment for an attack upon the town, and the Congress hinted their wishes to General Washington, who having consulted a council of his officers pronounced it to be for the present inexpedient. Subsequent events proved this decision of the commander in chief to be correct; for an attack now if it had proved successful, as most probably would have been the case, would nevertheless have been attended with the loss of many lives, that were saved by a few months delay.

The Congress in the mean time having received information from their agents in England that no notice seemed to be taken of their humble petition to the King, began to lose all hope of any amicable arrangement of their dispute with Great Britain, and therefore set themselves to work more seriously than ever, in preparing for the contest. They determined to increase their army, and to extend the term of enlistments, the shortness of which had already been attended with many serious inconveniences. They took such steps also as compelled the royal Governours to quit their respective Colonies, and leave the government in the hands of the conventions; and that each Colony should raise a certain number of regiments at the expense of the United Colonies. They passed resolutions likewise, imposing upon the members the obligation of *secrecy* as to all their measures, and forbidding, or rather discountenancing any thing like a petition to the King or Parliament from any individual Colony.

One of the most important military measures of the session was the ordering a body of *marines* to be raised, and the equipment of several ships of war. It was

also wisely determined to secure the passage of the Hudson, or North River, by erecting fortifications in the Highlands. Committees were appointed to inquire into the state of the several Colonies, and troops ordered to be sent where they were wanted to aid the citizens in defending their rights. The manufacture of powder had been so far encouraged that several mills were established, which promised an abundant supply.

About this time General Howe was guilty of two acts which in some ages and countries, would have consigned his head to the block, and his name to infamy. One of these was to convert one of the oldest and most venerable places of publick worship, into a *riding school*, and the elegant carved pews, were used as walls to a *pig sty*. The other act alluded to was his sending out *seven hundred* of the inhabitants, among whom the *small pox* was prevailing, into the country, with a design of communicating the infection to the American army. General Howe has been accused by some of his countrymen of too great an attachment for the Americans; to which indeed they have gone so far as to attribute all his misfortunes. But if it can add to General Howe's fame, that his conduct to the Americans was on all occasions dictated by a spirit of revengeful animosity, more than the mere circumstance of situation called for, we freely offer our testimony to his implacable hatred.

General Washington had in the course of the autumn, as much with a view to exercise and discipline his troops as from any prospect of advantage, erected works at several points around Boston. In some of these attempts the troops were occasionally fired upon, but they could not be made to desist from their

labour. They thus established batteries on every eminence in the neighbourhood of the enemy at Bunker Hill, and even carried their approaches to within half a mile of the town; where in the face of a cannonading which lasted for four days they succeeded in making a lodgement.

Captain *Mowatt* of his Majesty's navy, whose name had been written in characters of blood on the defenceless walls of Bristol, again signalized himself in the course of the autumn, by destroying the flourishing town of Falmouth in Massachusetts. Upwards of four hundred houses were burned by this modern Nero, who feasted his savage heart at seeing the harmless inhabitants flying from the devouring flames.

The commissions which were granted by the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts for Letters of Marque and Reprisal were found before the end of the year to produce a good effect. Many valuable prizes were made by the enterprising seamen of Marblehead, of storeships from England for the use of the Troops at Boston. In these enterprises Captain *Manly*, of Marblehead, greatly distinguished himself.

It may not be uninteresting before we close the year to note a curious account which was kept by some of the gentlemen in the vicinity of Boston, of the constant firing from the British Batteries. From the 19th of June to the 25th of December the British threw upwards of 2000 shot and shells, and killed only *twelve* of the Provincials.

CHAPTER XII.

Events of 1776.—Reasons for the invasion of Canada.—Distresses of Arnold—Dunmore burns the town of Norfolk—Proceedings of the British Parliament.—Duke of Grafton resigns.—Mr. Penn examined before the House—Several conciliatory propositions rejected.—Lord North's Prohibitory Bill—Motion of Mr. Fox—Mr. Hartley's motions—His Majesty's Hessian treaties.—Americans alter their flag.—Heights of Dorchester taken possession of by the Americans.—General Howe abandons Boston—Washington enters it in triumph.—Arnold retires from before Quebec.—General Frazer is repulsed from Three Rivers.—Affair at the Cedars.—Arnold retreats from Montreal.—Retreat of General Sullivan from Canada.—Lee arrives at New-York.—Pursues Clinton.—Affair of Moore's Creek Bridge.—Attack on Sullivan's Island—Brave defence of Fort Moultrie.—Operations of Commodore Hopkins.—Commissioners sent to Canada.—Lee gives notice in Congress of his intended motion for Independence.—Proceedings of the Colonies thereon.—Secret proceedings on Lee's motion—Independence declared.

The expedition which had been planned against Canada, seemed, in the opinion of many who professed to approve of the resistance made by the Colonies to the oppressive measures of the Ministry, wholly to change the nature of the controversy. The opposition which had been theretofore made to Government, had been made, it was contended, upon the principle of defending certain natural rights, and was not only perfectly consistent with the British constitution, but warranted by the sanction of that precedent which had placed the sceptre in the hands of his present Majesty. But to wage an offensive war against that portion of his Majesty's dominions, which had taken no part in the contest, was, it was said, at once to lose the cha-

racter of the aggrieved in that of the aggressor, and to forfeit all claim to redress on the plea of justifiable resistance.

These were serious charges, to which a proper respect for themselves seemed to demand a reply from the American Colonies. It was well known to them and to the world, that the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Quebec Act, had converted the government of Canada into a complete despotism; and that the powers given to the Governour of that Province were unlimited so far as it concerned his proceedings against those whom he might choose to consider as rebellious subjects of the King. Sir Guy Carleton had already given sufficient evidence, that he was disposed to construe his discretionary powers, in the most arbitrary sense, and that he only waited for a convenient opportunity to exercise his restless spirit beyond the confines of his Province. To march against him, therefore, and prevent the execution of his hostile designs, was considered as much a matter of self defence, as if they had waited to be actually attacked. They were not bound, it was argued, by any law of nature, or by any maxim of reason or policy, to look tamely on, while preparations were making for their destruction. The question with Congress was, shall we lose the time, which the incapacity of the British troops in Boston to do us injury, now affords us of putting a stop to the hostile preparations of General Carleton, or shall we calmly wait until all our exertions shall be required to defend ourselves elsewhere? Whatever might have been the answer to this question by apologists of the *divine right of Kings* and the *supreme* power of Ministers, every unprejudiced politician will be willing to acknowledge, that

the step which the Congress took with regard to Canada, was fully justified by existing circumstances.

We left Colonel Arnold, weak and wounded, with a small remnant of the army, in the depth of winter still blockading the royal army, of more than double his numbers, in Quebec. A finer compliment could not have been paid to the bravery of these sons of liberty, than was implied in the fact that Sir Guy Carleton did not think it prudent to pursue them in their retreat. His treatment of the prisoners, too, which was somewhat different from the savage cruelty which he had been accustomed to use towards the *rebellious* Colonists, showed that whatever he might think of their conduct in a political point of view, he could not but regard them as brave soldiers, who deserved the tribute of applause from every military man. Strong persuasions were used by Sir Guy to induce several of the Provincial officers to abandon the cause of their country, and accept commissions in the British service. To the intrepid *Morgan* he offered the commission of a Colonel; but that inflexible patriot desired that he might never more be *insulted* with a proposition so abhorrent to his feelings.

With what delight would the historian dwell upon the conduct of *Arnold* at this critical moment, but that Arnold lived to tear up by the roots every laurel which he had planted, and to cast a stain upon his escutcheon which no art could hide. He retired with his little army to the distance of three miles from Quebec; he had lost the bravest of his officers, was himself unable to move, and had every reason to expect that Sir Guy would march out to attack him. But he still maintained his ground. His men, who had braved with him the hardships of a march, to which

there is no parallel in history, were still content to share the severities of a climate to which none of them were accustomed, and to submit to all the privations of their situation without a murmur. He had written to General Wooster, who had been left at Montreal, to join him with reinforcements, and to take the command of the army; but this was a thing not easily to be accomplished, and Arnold was compelled to depend upon his own resources. He fortified himself as well as he was able, and bore up against every difficulty, with a vigour of mind and a fertility of genius, that have never been surpassed.

But it is time to return to the South, and observe the proceedings of Lord Dunmore after the defeat of his motley forces at the Great Bridge. His Lordship fled precipitately with all the *white* loyalists on board his fleet, leaving the enfranchised *blacks* to shift for themselves, and the town of Norfolk to be entered by the victorious Provincials.

The great number of useless mouths which the loyalty of the inhabitants added to his Lordship's retinue, soon reduced the fleet to considerable distress for want of provisions. They were cut off from all supplies from the shore, except what could be stolen by the boats that chose to venture within the grasp of the outraged inhabitants, and the difficulties attending these marauding parties were daily increased.—In this situation Lord Dunmore, with as much assurance as if he really had a claim to the good offices of the insulted Colonists, sent a flag to Norfolk to ask a supply of provisions for *his Majesty's Ships*. The answer might easily have been anticipated; Colonel Howe, who commanded the Provincials, refused to comply with the requisition of his Lordship; and on

the first day of the eventful year 1776, his Lordship commenced a canonade against the town, from two frigates and two sloops of war. Under the cover of these guns a party of sailors and marines landed and set fire to the town; and in a few hours the first commercial town in the Colony of Virginia was reduced to a heap of ashes.

Savage as Lord Dunmore was, the enormity of this act seemed even to him to require an apology; and in a few days afterwards there appeared an account, published on board of his ship, (for a Printing Press was an essential part of his establishment) in which it was attempted to throw the odium upon *the rebels*—his Lordship avowing that it was only his intention to burn *a few of the houses near the water*. But this contemptible falsehood gained no credit, even among his Lordship's friends. It was not possible to believe that the Provincials themselves would destroy the most flourishing town in their Colony, and deprive themselves of the comfortable winter quarters which it afforded, merely that they might charge it to the infamy of his Lordship's character, which was already black enough in the estimation of the whole Colony. Besides, what could have been his object in destroying *a few houses?* Did he suppose that the flames would obey his mandate, and spread no further than the houses to which the brands were applied? No—the conflagration of towns and cities was a part of the system of coercion. It commenced with General Gage upon the unoffending town of Charlestown.—Stonington, Bristol, Falmouth, had shared the same fate. These were the means by which the British nation, or more truly, the British Government, thought to awe the brave and hardy descendants of their own

sires—these were the mandates by which a misguided Ministry hoped to bring America to *their feet.*—Let them answer to the world for the blood that was shed during a conflict of seven years.

Let us now inquire into the measures of the British Parliament during their Session of the preceding autumn. His Majesty had opened the Session by a speech from the throne, unusually long and virulent, in which he breathed forth a spirit of animosity against the Colonies more inveterate than ever, and intimated that nothing would satisfy him but the most absolute and unconditional submission. The Duke of Grafton who had been fruitlessly labouring throughout the summer, to effect a change in the disposition of the Ministry towards America, soon after resigned the Privy Seal—thus refusing any longer to be accessary to measures, which his disinterested patriotism could not but regard as ruinous to his country. He had in the first instance lent his sanction to the system of coercion, because he had been misled by false information of the state of the Colonies; but his noble mind would not suffer him to continue in errour a a moment after he became acquainted with the true nature of their resistance.

The Privy Seal was immediately after given to the Earl of Dartmouth, whose conduct as American Secretary had been rather too conciliating to please the rulers of Administration. His office was conferred upon Lord *George Sackville Germaine*—a pupil of Mr. Grenville, and a zealous advocate of Parliamentary supremacy.

It has been mentioned, that when the Petition of Congress to the King was presented by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, his Majesty had directed Lord Dart-

mouth to say to those gentlemen, that no answer would be given to it. Parliament, however, had demanded to see that Petition; and a copy of it being laid before the House of Peers on the 7th of November, the Duke of Richmond moved that Mr. Penn be examined touching its *authenticity*. This motion produced a most furious opposition from the Ministry, who it appeared, were purposely blind to all information concerning America, and who rather than hear any thing on the subject from one who was so well qualified to tell the truth, *admitted* the authenticity of the paper, hoping thereby to get rid of the motion. But the Noble Duke had a wider object in view, in desiring to hear Mr. Penn at the Bar of the House, than merely to prove the authenticity of the Petition of Congress.—He was desirous that the people of England should have an opportunity of obtaining correct information concerning the Colonies, and the ultimate ends and designs of the Congress, which had been so egregiously misrepresented by Ministers. For this purpose, therefore, when his former motion had been rejected, he made another, that Mr. Penn should be examined at the Bar the next day, thus making it an abstract proposition against which no objection could be fairly urged. This motion after another warm debate was finally agreed to, and on the 10th Mr. Penn was called to the House.

The examination of Mr. Penn incontestably proved two facts, which ought to have been sufficient to hurl the Ministers from their abused trusts—These were, that Congress had formed no design of *independence;* and that *not a member of the Administration had proposed a single question to him on the subject of American affairs,* since his arrival in the coun-

try. No stronger evidence could be offered of the baseness of Ministers, who had in the first instance trusted to the false representations of their own tools, and who afterwards chose rather to keep the whole kingdom in ignorance, than acknowledge that they had been deceived. They were perfectly acquainted with the true state of American affairs, long before Mr. Penn arrived in England; it was not very wonderful, therefore, that they did not think it necessary to question him for their own satisfaction; but it argued deliberate malignity of design, that they should object to the examination of that worthy man by others. It showed that they knew what his testimony would be—that it must contradict all their previous assertions, and perhaps induce the people of England to insist upon their dismissal from the councils of his Majesty.

When the examination of Mr. Penn was concluded, the Duke of Richmond moved "That the Petition from the Continental Congress to the King, was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between Great Britain and America." This motion was supported by every argument which could be drawn from a clear and dispassionate view of the whole ground. It was contended that if the present offer of conciliation was not seized, the chance would be lost for ever, and that expense, desolation and carnage would be the inevitable consequence. The utter impossibility of *conquering* the vast continent of America, was fairly and strongly represented; and the horrours of a war to which no termination could be foreseen, were contrasted with the biessings of peace upon the terms proposed by the Congress.

But these arguments were combated by the usual cant about the sovereignty of the British Parliament, and the motion was finally rejected.

A few days after this, the Duke of Grafton, introduced several motions, the objects of which were, to obtain a statement of the troops employed in America *previous* to the commencement of hostilities—an account of the *present* state of the army in that country—of the plans which had been adopted for providing for them—the further force which it was thought necessary to send to America—and as far as it could be ascertained the number of troops in the *Provincial army*. But the Ministers contended, and perhaps with some justice, that a compliance with the objects of these motions would involve information which it would be highly improper to disclose—that it would be giving that intelligence to the Americans which they most desired to have; and in short, the motions were rejected.

Another attempt was made on the succeeding day to change the course of Ministerial measures, by a second conciliatory proposition from Mr. *Burke*. His motion was introduced by an able and eloquent speech, in which he minutely examined every plan which had been proposed for putting an end to the troubles in America. He said that the difficulties that must attend a continuance of hostile measures were insurmountable—that war could never lead to the accomplishment of the object in view, nor would the distresses which were heaped upon various portions of the American people, ever reduce the whole continent to submission—that *concession* on the part of Parliament was indispensable, a concession founded upon the great charter of Edward Ist. and the British Constitution. Mr. Burke's

plan of conciliation was simple and rational, two qualities which were of themselves sufficient to prevent its receiving the sanction of the Ministers. Upon the division, however, it was found that their majority was much smaller than they had been accustomsd to see, where they thought proper to make their sentiments known.

Four days after the rejection of Mr. Burke's proposition, Lord North introduced a Bill which has become famous, or rather *infamous*, under the name of the *Prohibitory Bill*, which *interdicted all trade and intercourse with the thirteen United Colonies.* By this Bill all property of Americans, of whatever description, at sea or on shore, was made lawful prize to the captors. But it had an *excepting* clause, which allowed to his Majesty's Commissioners, the power of removing these restrictions from *any Colony, or parts of a Colony, that should return to a state of obedience.*—The opposition objected to this as an absolute declaration of war—a formal *abdication* of government over the Colonies. They asserted, and with justice, that it would drive the two countries to the fatal extremity of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independence on the other—that the offers of *pardon* by which the Bill was accompanied, were absurd when offered to men who were *suffering* rather than *doing* wrong. They contended that the provisions of this Bill would force the Americans into alliance with some foreign power—that it would necessarily compel them to convert their merchant ships into privateers; by which they would do greater injury to the commerce of the kingdom than could be done by any other war. They asserted that the Americans would be driven by this Bill to open their ports to foreigners, which would

of necessity involve the Ministers in all the evils of a foreign war, which at such a time was of all things to be most dreaded.

It is hardly necessary to say, that this Bill of the Minister's passed by a large majority, notwithstanding all the arguments of truth, reason and justice, that could be urged against it.

Not long after this Mr. *Fox*, whose fame as a Statesman has since resounded through every portion of the civilized world, moved that an account of the expenses of the Staff, Hospitals, and all military contingencies whatsoever, of the army in America, from August 1778 to August 1775 inclusive, be laid before the House. Mr. Fox said that the object of his motion was to lay open to the House, *an astonishing scene of Ministerial delusion*—that it would prove, that the expenses of 1775 had far exceeded any of the glorious campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and that they would necessarily be much greater for the present year, than during any year of the last war, when Great Britain had to contend against all the great powers of Europe, and kept up a military force of more than 300,000 men.—But the Ministers had only to say that the exhibition of these accounts would be improper—the motion of Mr. Fox was negatived *without a division.*

Notwithstanding all the discouragements which were given to the friends of America, there was still another attempt made to bring about a reconciliation. On the 7th of December, Mr. *Hartley* introduced a series of propositions, the objects of which were,—to make an address to his Majesty for a *suspension of hostilities*,—a bill to enable the Province of Massachusetts Bay to elect an Assembly and Council according to

their Charter—and a bill for *repealing all the laws since the year* 1763.—These propositions were not even thought worthy of debate : they were rejected almost as soon as offered.

On the 20th of February, Mr. Fox again came forward with a motion for the appointment of a committee "to inquire into the ill success of his Majesty's arms in America."—Mr. Fox said that he should decline at present to enter into a recapitulation of the causes of dispute with America, or to develope that system which in every constituent part, gave the most unequivocal proofs, that its ultimate design was the *destruction of the Constitution.* His present object, he said, was to draw the attention of the House to facts which could not be disputed. It was acknowledged on all hands, that there had been mismanagement, misconduct, incapacity, or neglect, *somewhere;* and it was important to ascertain whether the evils arising from these faults were to be imputed to the Ministers at home, or to the military commanders abroad, or conjointly to both. The nation had a right to know where the fault lay, that a remedy might be applied before it was too late. He said that unless the Ministers were *conscious* of guilt themselves, they could not object to this inquiry.

The view which Mr. Fox took of the measures of coercion, which had been pursued by the Ministers, exhibited such a picture of folly, ignorance, and misconduct in Ministers, and of servility to their views on the part of the Parliament, that it threw the whole body of Court parasites into dismay. But this was all that could be effected by it. The motion was set aside by calling the previous question.

The next subject of importance, as it concerned America, which occupied the attention of Parliament, was the Treaty which his Majesty had entered into with some of the petty Princes of Germany, particularly with the Landgrave, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, for the hire of troops to aid in subduing his American subjects. The debates to which the discussion of this Hessian Treaty gave rise, necessarily took a wide range. Among the arguments which were used to show the impolicy of employing these foreign mercenaries, it was contended that it would be setting an example to the Colonies themselves to enter into foreign alliances; and that they might instead of *hiring* foreign troops obtain upon better terms the assistance of those European powers from which Great Britain had most to fear. On the other hand the treaties were strenuously defended by the Ministers on the strong plea of *necessity*. They spoke lightly of the expenses which would attend the employment of these troops, as they did not doubt that the war with America would be *finished in one campaign, or at most in two*. The idea that the war would be prolonged to a more distant period, they thought "so totally improbable as not to merit consideration." Such was the blind infatuation of those who ruled the voice of the Parliament.

A few days after the discussion on these treaties, the Secretary of War made a demand for near *one million of pounds sterling*, for the extraordinary expenses of the army. This demand brought upon the Ministers such a torrent of eloquence, wit, ridicule and invective, that they took the question without replying a word, well knowing that they were able to wield the House at will.

All hope of accommodation, however, was not even yet lost by the real friends of the Kingdom. The Duke of Grafton on the 14th of March, moved for an Address to the King, praying that his Majesty might be pleased to issue a Proclamation, "declaring that if the Colonies, before or after the arrival of the troops destined for America, shall present a petition to the Commander in Chief, or to the Commissioners to be appointed under the late act, setting forth what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances, that in such case his Majesty will consent to a suspension of arms; and that he has *authority from his Parliament* to assure them that their Petition shall be received, considered, and answered."

But this motion of the Noble Duke, like all others of a similar tendency, failed to make any impression upon the Ministerial party. War was considered as actually declared, and no further attempt was made during the session to stem the tide of Ministerial folly. The knowledge that the personal feelings of the King were interested in this war, tended to render it extremely popular among certain classes of people in England,—who continued to believe, notwithstanding the successes which had attended the American arms in Canada, and the blockade of the British army in Boston, that the mere sight of the troops to be sent over, would quiet all opposition, and reduce the Colonists to obedience. Such was the fatal influence of royal animosity!

Having thus seen the views and proceedings of the British Parliament during the Session of 1775–6, it is now time to return to the two armies on the Continent. The British army under General Howe, spent the winter in acting the *farces* of General Burgoyne,

while General Washington was every day taking steps more effectually to invest the town of Boston. The troops on *Bunker Hill* had spent the winter in *tents*, exposed to all the severities of a northern climate—the ships laden with supplies of provisions and *fuel* from England, were for the most part captured by Amerirican privateers—General Howe found it every day more and more difficult to procure either. To supply the want of fuel, many of the houses in town were torn down and used as fire wood. But it was not so easy to find a remedy for the want of provisions. The Provincials, both by sea and land, were too vigilant to suffer any thing to reach the town which could contribute to their relief.

In this state of things the Americans received a copy of the King's speech, which roused them to such a pitch of indignant feeling, that the speech was publickly burned in the camp, and their *flag* which had been hitherto plain red was now changed to *thirteen stripes*, as emblematical of the Union of the Colonies. This intelligence was soon succeeded by news of the *Prohibitory Act* and the *Hessian Treaty*, which determined General Washington to lose no time in expelling the British from Boston, before the arrival of the expected reinforcements. For this purpose, on the 2d of March a Battery was opened on *Phipps's farm*, from which a cannonade was kept up for several days; more with a view to divert the attention of the British army from a work of more importance then in contemplation in another quarter, than from any expectation of other advantage. The plan succeeded; and on the evening of the 4th General *Thomas* was detached with two thousand men to take possession of the heights of Dorchester on the other side of the town. The neg-

lect to fortify this important point, which commanded not only the isthmus of Roxbury, but the Castle, and the greater part of the harbour, was certainly a stigma on the military character of General Howe, which no subsequent exertion of genius ever wiped off.

General Thomas, with the same expedition which had characterized the labours of Putnam and Prescott, on the ever memorable *Breed's Hill*, had completed a Battery of bombs and 24 pounders in the course of the night, which met the astonished view of General Howe and his officers on the morning of the 5th as the work of enchantment. Their amazement and consternation were even greater than when these newly arrived Bobadils had seen the magick entrenchments of the 19th of June. At that time, their contempt of *Yankee* courage, excluded every thing like a mixture of fear in their amazement: they were then full of the assurance, that to *look big* was enough to strike the Americans with unresisting terrour. But the case was altered—these blustering gentlemen had found occasion to change their opinions of the *Yankees*, as they had been pleased in their merry humours to miscall *Americans*: and when the guns from this enchanted hill of *Dorchester* began to play upon the town, the alarm of the General and his army, was scarcely less than their mortification.

It was necessary that General Howe should determine at once what course to pursue—the Admiral had assured him that he could not be answerable for the safety of the fleet, if the Americans retained possession of the Heights—to evacuate the town without some effort to dislodge the Americans, would be disgraceful—and the General finally determined to at-

tempt a *coup de main*. Orders were given for the embarkation of a number of troops, destined as was supposed, to storm the works on Dorchester Heights; but fortunately for those who were detached on this perilous service, a tempest prevented their embarking on the evening proposed, and the next day the design was abandoned. The cause which has been assigned for this sudden revolution in the designs of the General, was the *discovery*, on the morning after the tempest, that the Americans had thrown up a *new work*, stronger than any of the former, and which it was judged impossible to force. Another discovery still more strange, and equally *sudden*, on the part of the General, was, "that Boston was not a situation very happily chosen for the improvement of any advantage that might be obained for the reduction of the Colonies."

The conduct of General Howe, throughout the whole time of his command at Boston, has been the theme of much severe censure. His neglect to improve the means that were in his power, before the American army at Cambridge were in a condition to resist him—his inglorious, idle, and licentious revellings through the winter—his suffering the Americans from time to time to fortify every advantageous post in his vicinity, until he was finally compelled disgracefully to abandon the very town for the express occupation of which the army had been sent from England—all remains inexplicable. It was perhaps too late for General Howe to have effected any thing after the Americans had gained possession of Dorchester Heights, though he had an army of *nine thousand veteran* troops; but it is somewhat wonderful, considering the system which had been all along pursued, that he did not leave the evacuated town in flames.

On the other hand, it may be regarded as equally strange, that General Washington not only did not take any measures to impede the slow and difficult embarkation of the mixed and numerous group of soldiers and citizens, women and children, that followed General Howe; but that he actually ceased from the bombardment, which had only been commenced, as it appeared, as a signal for the movement, as soon as the embarkation began, and remained quiet during the ten days that were consumed in completing it. These circumstances would naturally lead to the supposition, that some agreement, or mutual understanding, had taken place between the two Commanders, for the safety of the town on the one hand, and of the retiring army on the other. That such an agreement would have been perfectly justifiable on the part of the American Commander, cannot admit of a doubt. The town of Boston was too important in every point of view, to risk its conflagration, for the sake of gaining a *bloody* victory, when all the advantages of a victory could be gained without blood. *Fifteen hundred* Americans too, men, women, and children, were confusedly intermingled with the army of General Howe. Most of these, it is true, were traitors to the cause of their country, and had forfeited all claim to the forbearance of their countrymen; but there were still many among them, whose fate had been decided by necessity rather than choice, and who must have shared in the sufferings of a *battle*—which, if there had been one at all, must in the nature of things, have been a terrible and deadly conflict.

Whatever were the motives which actuated either General, Washington entered Boston in triumph, at one end, while the rear of Howe's army were quitting

it, at the other. He was received with every demonstration of joy by the remaining inhabitants, though many of them had most heartily prayed for his discomfiture, and would gladly have fled with the British army, had not a dearer interest bound them to their property in Boston. The houses and effects of those who had abandoned their country were confiscated, and sold for the benefit of the publick treasury.

As a part of the means of defence which the Americans had prepared on Dorchester Height, it is a singular fact, that a number of barrels filled with large *stones* were so placed on the declivity, as that they might have been rolled down upon the enemy, in the event of an attempt to storm the work. The tremendous effects of such a mode of repelling assailants, may be easily conceived.

General Howe, in his passage out of the harbour, ordered the works on Castle Island to be destroyed, that the Americans might not by obtaining possession of them, impede the movements of the ships of war that were left in the harbour for the protection of the transports and storeships daily expected from England. Stores of various sorts to a considerable amount were left in Boston, and a great quantity of artillery, cannon and mortars, on the works at Bunker Hill and other places, which the British had neither time to carry off nor destroy.

The situation of General Howe at this period was so truly embarrassing, that it might almost have excited the compassion of the enemy. Compelled to fly in disgrace, from a foe that his whole army had been taught to despise, and whom his masters at home thought it possible to conquer with a frown—forced to listen to the discontents and jealousies of his offic-

ers, the complaints of his wounded and suffering soldiers, the cries of women and children, and all the confusion incident to a motley crowd of ten thousand persons, each anxious for the safety of his various effects—reduced to the necessity of putting to sea with a fleet of *one hundred and fifty* ships in the most stormy month of the year: with a scarcity of all the most necessary articles of subsistence—All these considerations rendered his situation indeed deplorable. Nor was it alleviated by the consolatory reflection that he was free from censure. Many of his officers, and particularly those of the navy, did not scruple to charge him with having brought upon the army all these calamities.—It was on the 17th of March that General Washington triumphantly marched into Boston. General *Clinton* had been some time before detached by General Howe, to direct the operations of the South; and General *Lee* had been sent by Washington, to watch and counteract his movements. But before we inquire into the transactions of the South, it will be proper to turn our attention to the little army under Arnold in Canada.

We have seen that Colonel Arnold, after the desperate but unsuccessful assault upon Quebec, had retired with about *seven hundred* men, to the distance of three miles from the city, where he fortified himself as well as circumstances would enable him, in a situation effectually to cut off all supplies from the garrison. The reinforcements which he had asked for, arrived but slowly. As soon as General Thomas arrived to take the command, another attempt was made upon the city. They erected batteries, constructed fire ships, and prepared scaling ladders, with a view of setting fire to the shipping and the town, and entering the

works during the confusion that this would necessarily occasion. At this time an attempt was made to drive the Americans away by a Mr. Beaujeu, who collected a body of the Canadian gentry, and marched against them. But he was compelled by a small detachment of the Provincials to retreat within the walls, and abandon his design. The Americans succeeded in setting fire to a few houses in the suburbs, but the conflagration was prevented from spreading, by pulling down the houses that would have communicated with the city. The failure of their attempt to fire the town rendered their plan of storming the works impracticable; they were therefore compelled to content themselves with continuing the siege, feeble and ineffectual as were their means of assault.

In this state of things, the *small pox* made its appearance among the Provincial troops. It is hardly possible to conceive the terrour, distress and confusion, which this horrible disease occasioned in the American camp. Under the most favourable circumstances, the appearance of an infectious disorder of so malignant a character, must have produced much confusion and suffering; what then must have been the dreadful dismay and distress which it occasioned to the American army in their situation. Destitute of the means which could lessen or impede its ravages, ignorant of its true nature, and anticipating dangers which their fears magnified tenfold more than the reality, it was found almost impossible to prevent a total dispersion of the troops. Few or none of the Provincials had had the disorder; and having heard that *inoculation* was the only preventive of its fatal tendency, the reinforcements as they arrived, continued in defiance of orders to inoculate themselves, and thus to spread still fur-

ther the terrible effects of the disease. Out of three thousand recruits that had arrived in the course of the Spring, only nine hundred remained fit for duty.

While the army was in this suffering condition the ships of war arrived with succours for the British General. They had with incredible exertions and dexterity cut through the ice, and forced a passage to the relief of the town; and having landed a *thousand* marines with two companies of the 29th, Sir Guy joined them with eight hundred of his own troops and immediately marched to the attack of the Americans. But he was too late—General Thomas, who superseded Wooster in the command, foreseeing this event, had made a hasty retreat, being compelled from the situation of his troops to leave behind him all his artillery and stores, and a number of the sick who were unable to move.

If Sir Guy Carleton had pursued the American army at this period, the whole must have fallen into his hands—the Provincials were dispersed at various points and the retreating General had not more than three hundred effective men, with whom it would have been impossible for him to have made a stand. But the Governour was content to be released from his besiegers, and did not seem to be desirous of effecting more than to drive them from his neighbourhood. About *a hundred* prisoners fell into his hands, chiefly the sick and wounded, which, to the honour of Sir Guy Carleton, met with the most humane treatment.

The Americans continued their retreat to the river Sorel, having marched the first forty-five miles without halting. Here they found a reinforcement of several regiments waiting for them under General Thompson, who in a few days succeeded to the com-

mand, by the unfortunate death of General Thomas, who died of the small pox. A few days after this event an enterprise was planned by General Sullivan, which displayed much more boldness of design, than prudence or good management.—The army under General Howe was increased by the arrival of the troops from England, Ireland, and Brunswick, to upwards of *thirteen thousand* men, the principal rendezvous of which was at *Three Rivers*—a post on the north side of the St. Lawrence, about half way between Quebec and Montreal. Brigadier General *Frazer*, with a large body of the British and Brunswick troops, was stationed at this post—Brigadier General *Nesbit* remained with another considerable body on board the transports, a few miles below—several of the ships with troops had made their way a little above—and the remainder of the army with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips and *Reidesel*, occupied various posts on the river between Three Rivers and Quebec.—Under these circumstances General Sullivan conceived it possible to surprise the Army at Three Rivers and destroy the shipping that lay near it. For this purpose he detached General Thompson, with less than *two thousand* men, who embarked in batteaux and traversing the Lake St. Peter dropped down the river in the night, with the expectation of reaching Three Rivers before day light. They succeeded so far as to pass the ships without discovery, but were too late to effect their object, even had success been practicable under every favourable circumstance. In marching to attack the village in the rear they were compelled to cross a deep marsh, the difficulties of which were hardly surmounted, when a tremendous fire was opened upon them, which threw the whole de-

tachment into confusion, and without attending to orders or remonstrances each man took the best means of effecting his own safety. About *two hundred* of them fell into the hands of the enemy.—If General Sullivan had been acquainted with the strength of the British forces in and about Three Rivers, it is not probable that he would have formed a design which involved such imminent hazard—but that he did not know it, can hardly be considered as a justification of his daring project; and nothing but the consummate skill and prudence with which he managed the subsequent retreat from the formidable forces under Carleton and Burgoyne, could have saved him from censure.

Arnold no longer able to hold Montreal was compelled to quit it in some haste, and was so closely pursued by Burgoyne, that he had scarcely time to put his troops in marching order at Longueil before that General entered it. The pursuit was equally close to Sorel, Chamblee, St. Johns, and the Isle aux Noix, at which last place all the boats which were not required to transport the army, were burned, and General Sullivan was enabled to reach Crown Point in safety—having conducted the retreat, under the most embarrassing difficulties, in a manner to deserve the thanks of Congress and the whole army.

Shortly before the retreat of Arnold from Montreal, an affair occurred in a part of the forces under his command, which deserves to be mentioned. An Officer had been stationed, with a party of four hundred men, at a place called the *Cedars* about forty miles above Montreal, and just at the head of one of the Rapids. Being frightened at the appearance of a force descending the river to attack him, he fled with great precipitation, leaving the command to the officer

next in rank—who being of a temperament but little more martial than that of his Chief, surrendered the post without opposition. Upon hearing of their hostile approach, Arnold detached Major *Sherburne*, with *one hundred* men to the relief of the Post, who crossed the Lake and was marching to the Cedars, when his little band were attacked by a body of five hundred Indians. The Major made a most gallant defence of near two hours, nor did he cease to fight until completely surrounded and disarmed. Twenty eight of his men were killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was himself. The Indians afterwards put to death twenty others, with all the aggravation of savage barbarity; and, stripping the small remnant of them naked drove them into the possession of Captain *Foster* at the Cedars. Arnold flew to the rescue of these unfortunate captives the moment he had learned their fate; but upon his approach he received a communication from Captain Foster, acquainting him that if he would not consent to a *cartel*, which he had already forced Major Sherburne and others to sign, the prisoners should all *be instantly put to death.* Humanity as well as regard for the captive officers, compelled Arnold to accede to the proposal, and thus was his vengeance disarmed.

Thus was an end put to the war in Canada; a war which had been, in its commencement, attended with the most brilliant successes to the American arms, and which in its whole progress had displayed the military character of the Colonial Officers in the most honourable point of view. Taking into consideration the brilliant career of Montgomery from the Isle aux Noix to Quebec—the long, difficult and laborious march of Arnold, through hardships and dangers, that

would have appalled the stoutest follower of Xenophon—his subsequent siege and blockade of one of the strongest military posts in the world, in the heart of the enemy's country, in the midst of a northern winter, where nothing was seen but ice and snow, with raw recruits half-clad, half-fed and scarcely half covered from the storms of wind and snow—the expedition to Canada may be fairly placed on a parallel with any of the boasted achievements of ancient Greece or Rome. Nor was the conclusion of it less honourable, though less brilliant—the retreat of General Sullivan will hold a rank among the most glorious efforts of military genius, so long as the world shall delight in war.

We must now attend to the operations in the Middle and Southern Colonies. We have before hinted, that General Clinton had been detached with a body of troops by General Howe some time previous to the evacuation of Boston; and that General Lee had been sent by Washington to watch his movements. It was generally supposed that his object was to gain possession of the City of New York, an event which would prove seriously detrimental to the interests of the United Colonies. The Provincial Congress of New York at this time contained a majority of the King's friends; and it was therefore important that the measure of raising troops for the defence of the City should not be trusted to them. General *Lee* aware of this, and knowing that no troops could be spared from the main army, urged General Washington to give him authority to raise a body of Volunteers in Connecticut.—This was done through the instrumentality of Governour Trumbull; and in little more than a fortnight General Lee found himself at the head of *twelve hun-*

dred men. His approach towards the City of New York threw the King's party into great consternation.

The Committee of Safety sent to request that he would not suffer his troops to enter, the enemy having threatened to burn the City—but Lee replied "If the men of war set *one house* on fire in consequence of my coming, I will *chain a hundred of their friends together by the neck*, and *make the house their funeral pile*"—and with this determination he entered the City, not more than two hours after Clinton arrived at the Hook.

But whatever might have been the original destination of Clinton, it did not appear that he had any inclination to molest General Lee; for after a few days stay, he set sail from the Hook and stood to the South. Lee remained but a short time after him; having first taken care to place every thing in a proper state of defence and imposed a sort of *test oath*, on the *Tories*, as the King's friends were called, he followed the steps of General Clinton. In order to explain the further movements of these two officers, it will be necessary to recur to the situation in which we left the Colony of North Carolina, at the close of the last year. We have seen that the Governour had followed the example of Lord Dunmore, and taken refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, in which situation he continued to exercise all the authorities of his office over those who adhered to the cause of the King, under the hope of still being able to reduce the Colony to obedience. He was encouraged to persevere by the expectation of succours from Ireland under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, and from his knowledge that General Clinton was on his way from Boston to his assistance. He had been able to collect

a considerable force composed of Scotch Emigrants, and vagabonds who acknowledged no obedience to God or man, the command of which he had given to a Scothman by the name of M'Donald. This *General* M'Donald, and his next officer *M'Leod*, both of whom had, only a short time before, most solemnly *sworn* that their only object in North Carolina was *to see* their friends and relations, assembled their forces at a place called Cross Creek. The Provincial General *Moore*, having heard of it, assembled as large a force as he could collect, which however, was very inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, and took possession of *Rockfish Bridge* within a few miles of them. There M'Donald entered into a negociation with him, in hopes of bringing him over to the King's party, but Moore treated the attempt with the indignation of a freeman. What prevented M'Donald from attacking the Provincial Troops at this period, when he was so much superiour, we know not. He delayed from day to day until from the movement of the troops in various parts of the Province, he began to be afraid of his own safety, and suddenly quitted his ground, without having attempted any thing. Moore gave notice of this event to Colonel Caswell, who took post at a place called *Moore's Creek Bridge* with about one thousand men, to intercept him. M'Donald's party under M'Leod, to the number of *sixteen* or *seventeen hundred* men, attacked Caswell in his entrenchment, and after a short engagement, in which they were shamefully beaten, they literally *took to their heels*, leaving behind them *fifteen hundred rifles*, 850 guns and shot bags, with a number of swords, and thirteen *wagons*. They lost about *seventy* men in killed and wounded

and among them M'Leod himself. The Americans had only *two* wounded, one of whom afterwards died.

This victory, it may be supposed, occasioned great joy to the Provincials. It was the more gratifying, too, as the Governour, with General Clinton, and several other royal officers were waiting at Cape Fear, in full confidence that M'Donald would soon return to them with the subdued Provincials. This intelligence to Governour Martin was the death blow to all his hopes of recovering the revolted Province. He had now only to follow the fortunes of his friend Lord William Campbell, under the guidance of Clinton.

General Clinton finding that nothing could be done either in Virginia or North Carolina, in both of which Colonies, Lee had appeared like a spirit of the air to watch his motions, determined upon making an attack upon the City of Charleston, in South Carolina. And here also to the utter astonishment of General Clinton, Lee had arrived before him. As the movements of General Clinton were fortunately not very secret, the Americans had had time to prepare for his reception at Charleston, by the erection of works on *Sullivan's Island.* A Fort had been constructed here mounting *thirty* guns, 32's and 18's. The militia of the Colony had readily obeyed the summons of the Provincial President to repair to Charleston, and these were joined by several regiments of Regulars from the main army, amounting in the whole to five or *six thousand* men. General Clinton arrived with the fleet on the first of June, and landed a number of his troops on *Long Island,* separated from *Sullivan's Island* to the East by a small creek. Two of the ships, in a few days afterwards, passed Charleston bar, having been first obliged to take out their guns. This was follow-

ed by a *Proclamation* from the General, in which he repeated the gracious promise of *pardon* to all the *rebels* who should return to their allegiance to his Majesty—but the General could find none willing to admit that they had committed a crime for which pardon was necessary, and on the 28th of the month he was ready to execute the sentence of vengeance denounced against the traitors.

One of the Colonial regiments under Colonel *Gadsden* was stationed at Fort Johnson, on the northern extremity of *James Island*, and two other regiments of the Colony under Colonels *Moultrie* and *Thompson*, occupied the opposite extremities of *Sullivan's Island*. The other troops were posted at various points as the necessity of the case required. Two 50 gun ships, four frigates, several sloops of war, and bomb vessels, were brought to the attack, which was commenced about eleven o'clock from one of the bomb vessels. This was soon followed by the guns of all the ships—the attack was against the fort under Colonel *Moultrie* at the west end of Sullivan's Island. Four of the vessels dropped anchor within a short distance of the Fort and opened their several broadsides—Three others were ordered to take their station between the end of the Island and the city, intending thereby to enfilade the works as well as to cut off the communication with the continent—But in attempting to execute this order, they became entangled with each other on the shoals, and one of the frigates, the *Acteon*, stuck fast.

The roar of artillery upon this little Fort was incessant, and enough to appal even those who had been accustomed all their lives to the dreadful work of a cannonade. But *Moultrie* with his brave Carolinians,

seemed to regard it only as a symphony to the grand march of independence. They returned the fire with an aim as true and deliberate as though each British ship had been placed as a target for *prize* shooting, and continued it for several hours until their *ammunition was expended.* The cessation which this necessarily occasioned, produced a momentary joy in the assailants, who in imagination already grasped the victory which had been so hotly disputed—but the renewal of the blaze from the batteries soon convinced them that the struggle was not yet ended. Another gleam of hope brightened upon the British seamen, when after a dreadful volley the *flag* of *Moultrie* was no longer seen to wave defiance. They looked eagerly and anxiously towards the spot where Clinton, Cornwallis, and Vaughan, had landed with the troops, expecting every moment to see them mount the parapets in triumph. But no British troops appeared, and a few moments afterwards, the striped flag of the Colonies, once more proudly unfolded to the breeze—the staff had been carried away by a shot, and the flag had fallen on the outside of the works; a brave Sergeant of the Carolina troops, by the name of *Jasper,* jumped over the wall, seized the flag, and fastening it to a sponge staff, mounted the merlon, amidst the thunder of the enemy's guns, and fixed it in a conspicuous place.

The ships of the enemy kept up their fire, with unsubdued courage, until half past nine o'clock, when the darkness of the night put a stop to the carnage on both sides; and the ships with the exception of the *Acteon,* soon after slipped their cables, and dropped down about two miles from the scene of action. The terrible slaughter on board the ships bore melancholy

testimony to the bravery of the British seamen. At one time Captain Morris, of the *Bristol*, was almost the only man left upon the quarter deck; he had received several wounds, but gallantly refused to quit the deck, until no longer able to stand, or give an order. This ship had 111 killed and wounded—The Experiment lost 99 killed and wounded, and among the latter her commander, Captain *Scott*. The *Acteon* had a lieutenant killed and *six* men wounded, and the *Solibay eight* wounded—The whole killed and wounded 225. Sir Peter Parker, and Lord William Campbell who served as a volunteer, were both wounded. The Americans lost only *ten* killed and *twenty two* wounded.

It is impossible to give too much praise to *Colonel Moultrie* and his brave Carolinians, who for more than *ten hours* sustained the continued fire of upwards of *one hundred* guns and bombs; from which in the course of that time were thrown more than *ten thousand shot and shells*, seven thousand of which were *picked up* on the next day. It deserves to be remarked, that the walls of the Fort were built of *Palmetto* wood, which is of so soft a texture that the balls sunk in it as in the earth without doing any injury.—On the next day a few shot were fired from the garrison at the *Acteon*, which remained aground, and the crew returned them, but finding it impossible to get her off, they soon set fire to and abandoned her, leaving the *colours flying*, the *guns loaded*, and all their ammunition and stores. In this perilous situation she was boarded by a small party of Americans, who *fired three of the guns* at their late owners, while the flames were bursting around them, filled their boats with the stores, se-

cured the flag, and had just time to save themselves, when she was blown into the air.

The inaction of the land forces under Clinton and Cornwallis, was a subject of much surprise and speculation. They remained at the east end of Long Island, separated from Sullivan's Island, as has been observed, only by a narrow creek, easily fordable in several places. Opposite to them on the east end of Sullivan's island was Colonel *Thompson* with about *seven hundred* men and *two* pieces of artillery; and General Lee was so advantageously posted with the remainder of the forces on the main land, that he could easily have gone to the assistance of the island if attacked. Whether these considerations were sufficient to excuse the inactivity of General Clinton is matter of much doubt. His force was at least equal to Lee's, and their superiour discipline and experience should have rendered them superiour; but Lee had pursued him like an *evil genius*, and the very sight of him appeared to disconcert his wisest plans. Sir Henry Clinton was certainly a man of more than ordinary bravery, and of masterly skill in tactics, as was afterwards often manifested to the Americans: but there was something unaccountable in his want of success whenever Lee was opposed to him. After the failure of this expedition he set sail with Sir Peter Parker for New-York.

The Fort which had been so gallantly defended by *Moultrie*, afterwards received his name; and the *Palmetto* wood of which it was constructed gave name to a society of Patriots which exists to the present day and continues proudly to uphold and defend the principles of freedom.

It will now be necessary to say something of the little fleet which had been fitted out under the command of Commodore *Ezekiel Hopkins*. It consisted of two ships, two brigs and a sloop, all well manned and armed, and having on board about two hundred marines. We have already mentioned that the operations of this fleet had been of considerable service to the Provincial cause, having at various times with great courage made themselves masters of the most important articles of military stores. Early in March they landed at New Providence and stripped the island of all its stores except the powder which the Governour had taken the precaution to remove; and on their return home were somewhat disgraced by an unsuccessful action with the British ship *Glasgow* of 20 guns, which they suffered to escape after an engagement of two hours, with the whole fleet.

As the army under General Washington at Boston remained unmolested after the evacuation of that town by the British, he had an opportunity of disposing of them where they were most wanted; and as no military affair of importance immediately demands our attention, we shall endeavour to give such a view of political matters as will lead us to the declaration of independence.

Such was the deep rooted attachment of the Colonists generally to Great Britain, under whose *constitutional* government they fancied there was greater security, and happiness, than under any other form of government whatever, that until the last critical moment, very few even of those who bore the largest share in the measures before related, either desired or thought of a separation. And it must remain forever a subject of inexplicable wonder, by what magick in-

fluence, the few daring spirits in Congress who from the first cherished a hope of independence, were enabled to attain the adoption of those measures which so gradually but so successfully led them to the summit of their wishes.

We have heretofore mentioned several addresses forwarded by Congress to the inhabitants of Canada. The people of that Province had on many occasions evinced a friendly disposition, and steps were now taken, by the formal appointment of Commissioners, to negotiate an union. Doctor Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, were clothed with authority from Congress for this purpose; but though many of the inhabitants of that Province had experienced nothing but oppression and cruelty at the hands of Sir Guy Carleton, and the rites of the church were denied to all who had the courage to avow their dislike of the *Quebec Bill,* yet they were either too tame in disposition or too much in fear of the power of Sir Guy, to listen to the terms proposed by the Congress. Mr. *Carroll,* afterwards Arch-Bishop of Baltimore, a gentleman every way qualified for the task of persuasion, was sent from Maryland to offer the services of the Church to those to whom they had been refused, and to join his influence with the Commissioners, but to no purpose—the Canadians preferred to groan longer under the yoke of tyranny.

The Congress had waited with considerable patience, and some anxiety, the result of the late Session of Parliament; they had forebore to do any thing which might not be justified upon the fair principles of self defence, until it appeared that the Ministry were resolved, that nothing short of the most abject submission should be the price of accommodation. Early

in May therefore the Congress adopted a measure intended to sound the sentiments of the Colonies, on the subject of independence. They stated the rejection of their petitions, the Prohibitory Act, and the employment of foreign mercenaries to reduce them to obedience, and concluded by declaring it expedient that all the Colonies should proceed to the establishment of such a form of government as their representatives might think most conducive to the peace and happiness of the people. This Preamble and Resolution, was immediately forwarded to all the Colonies; and in a few days afterwards *Richard Henry Lee*, of Virginia, gave notice to the Congress that he should on an appointed day move for a *declaration of independence*. This was accordingly done, but the consideration of the question was postponed until the 1st of July, so timid, so wavering, so unwilling to break the *maternal* connexion were most of the members.

The interval was employed in unceasing exertions by the friends of independence to prepare the minds of the people for the necessity and advantages of such a measure. The Press teemed with Essays and Pamphlets, in which all the arts of eloquence were used to ridicule the prejudices which supported an attachment to the King and the Government of England. Among the numerous writers on this momentous question, the most luminous, the most eloquent, and the most forcible, was *Thomas Paine*. His Pamphlet entitled "Common Sense" was not only read, but understood, by every body. It contained plain and simple truths, told in a style and language, that came home to the heart of every man; and those who regard the independence of the *United States* as a blessing, will never cease to cherish the remembrance of

Thomas Paine. Whatever may have been his subsequent career—in whatever light his moral or religious principles may be regarded—it should never be forgotten that to him, more than to any single individual, was owing the rapid diffusion of those sentiments and feelings which produced the act of separation from Great Britain.

New-Hampshire, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, for a long time held out against the motion for independence. In Pennsylvania the proposed measure was so warmly opposed by Mr. *Dickenson,* who had been one of the first and ablest advocates of *resistance,* that the convention of Deputies left him out in their election of Delegates to Congress, and appointed Dr. *Benjamin Rush* in his place. In Maryland the Convention instructed their Delegates to vote against the declaration of independence, which on the first question they did, contrary to their own sentiments; and withdrawing immediately from the Congress, they returned to their own Colony. Here *Samuel Chase* laboured industriously and effectually to procure county meetings, at which the *people* were induced to instruct their deputies to reverse their former vote; and on the 28th of June the Convention gave an *unanimous* vote for independence, with which the Delegates lost no time in returning to Congress.

On the day agreed upon for the consideration of Mr. Lee's motion, the 1st of July, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; the debates on the question were continued with great warmth for *three days.* It had been determined to take the vote by *Colonies;* and as a master stroke of policy, the author of which is not known to history, it had been propos-

ed and agreed that the decision on the question, whatever might be the real state of the votes, should appear to the world as the unanimous voice of the Congress. On the first question *six* Colonies were in the affirmative, and *six* in the negative—*Pennsylvania* being without a vote by the division of her delegates. What an awful moment was this for the sanguine friends of freedom! In this state of the business, it is said, on the authority of evidence afterwards adduced before the British Parliament, that Mr. *Samuel Adams* once more successfully exerted his influence; and that one of the delegates of Pennsylvania was brought over to the side of independence. It is more probable, however, that the influence of Mr. Adams extended no further than to procure one of the dissenting members to withdraw from the House; and that the vote of Pennsylvania was thus obtained. This may be inferred from the circumstance that only *nine* out of the *ten* delegates from that Colony subscribed the declaration. It is to be regretted, only as a matter of laudable curiosity, that the Journals of Congress are profoundly silent, as to the minute proceedings on this memorable question, and as to the names of those who espoused or opposed it. We have no reason to doubt the purity of motive which actuated any member. It is sufficient that at length the important decision was made, and whether made by a majority of *one* or of twenty voices, is a question of no historical importance.

Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, had been appointed on the 11th of June, to prepare a declaration of Independence. It was agreed by this Committee, that each individual of it should draw up such a declaration as his judgment, talents, or feelings

should dictate, that so upon comparing the whole, that one should be chosen as the Report of the Committee, which should be most conformable to the wishes of the whole. *Mr. Jefferson's* paper was the first one read—and as the highest compliment which could be paid to the talents which it displays, every member of the Committee spontaneously resolved to suppress his own production, modestly observing that it was unworthy to bear a competition with what they had just heard.

On the *fourth day of July* 1776, that declaration was adopted by Congress, and given to the world as follows:

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United *States* of America, in Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to such separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form,

as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed, would dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more inclined to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed: but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states: to prove this, let facts be exhibited to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governours to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. .

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the deposito-

ries of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into complianee with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasion on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be erected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise,—the state remaining in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independant of and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade, with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us, in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their coun-

try, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestick insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is, undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their Legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexion and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent

States; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

CHAPTER XIII.

Effect of the Declaration—Vigorous preparations of the British Ministry—Letters of Washington—Resolutions of Congress—Miscellaneous Summary—Inquiry into the capture of the Cedars—Commencement of the system of retaliation—Reflections on its policy—Letters—Orders—Miscellaneous Reflections—Admiral aad General Howe arrive as Commissioners—Etiquette observed in their intercourse with Washington—Crown Point abandoned—State of preparations—British vessels pass up the North River—Remarks.

The Declaration of Independence once published to the world with such solemnity, gave a new character to the contest, not only in the Colonies, but in Europe. Before this decisive step, the American people were regarded by many able and good men, as well as sound politicians, on both sides of the Atlantick, rather as children struggling for doubtful privileges with a parent, than as men contending with men for their natural and indisputable rights. But this deliberate appeal to the nations of the earth, to posterity, and to the God of battles, gave a new political character, an immediate dignity and manhood, to their cause. It was no longer the unholy struggle of subjects against their monarch; of children against their parent; of rash and turbulent men who never measure nor weigh the consequence of their deeds: it was no longer a contest for mere matters of opinion, but for a national existence, for life or death. It became, under the awful sanction of that assembly, the temperate and determined stand of men who have entrenched themselves within the certain and thoroughly-understood limits of their

rights; of men who had counted the cost dispassionately, and measured the event without shrinking; of men who felt, deliberated and acted, as the representatives of a whole people, conscious of their infirmities and their responsibility; knowing the might of their adversaries, and the weakness of their friends, but determined to do their duty to their children, and leave them their inheritance undisturbed and unimpaired. Or if that might not be, and the liberties of Englishmen were no longer the protection of their wives, or the birth-right of their children,—to leave them as widows and orphans to the charity of Heaven.

The Declaration of Independence was, of itself, a victory,—a victory over the passions, prejudices and fears of a multitude. It drew the line forever, between the friends and the foes of America. It left no neutrals. He, who was not for independence, unconditional independance, was an enemy. The effect produced upon the publick mind by the boldness and unanimity manifested on this occasion, by the delegates of the several Colonies, operated on the general confidence of the people as much as a similar declaration would have done, had it been adopted and signed by the whole population of the states. In the publick exultation at the time, the murmurs of disapprobation were unheard; and the opposition to be expected from the discontented and factious, who were always a formidable minority, and in the very bosom of the country, was entirely overlooked.

The manifesto appeared as unanimous; it was hailed as a prognostick; and when the measure was consummated there were few to distrust such predictions as the wisest had uttered, when only contemplating the possibility of such a coalition. They forgot that

there was no common head to give stability and uniformity to the measures of the confederacy; the testimony of all antiquity was disregarded; not only the people, but politicians, not otherwise deficient in sagacity, persisted in believing that such an union might be permanent with no other tie than that of opinion.

Whatever may now be thought of the vast political foresight of those who first planned this confederacy, it is certain that, at the time, it was regarded as a *temporary* association. To understand the principles of attraction and adhesion which first brought together and then united such discordant materials, it will be necessary to forget what happened after their union, and go back to its first cause. Much has been attributed to the lofty patriotism of the times, which may, with more justice, be attributed to necesity, or to some other cause. Still more has been said of the generous disinterestedness, the unshaken firmness, the incorruptible integrity of the several parties; but the plain truth seems to be this. The Colonies adopted certain precipitate measures, the consequences of which were not foreseen at the time, by which they were so entangled, that they could not be separated. Their disposition to retract frequently succeeded the strongest instances of opposition, but always so far in the rear as to be ineffectual. While they threw the gauntlet with one hand, they extended the other for reconciliation. And when that reconciliation was about to take place, some other precipitate indication of hostility was given, which prevented it.

The only bond of union at first, was opinion—liable at every moment to change. A sense of common danger was the tendency to union; and a desire of self preservation the only law of cohesion. And both of

these could be counteracted by the first change in affairs. That very patriotism which had united the whole, would have controled the party: until a total dismemberment and separation were effected. Patriotism is, necessarily, more and more active and powerful as it is more circumscribed; and this, which had embraced within its comprehensive reach, the population of thirteen states, would always have been found with its moving principle concentrated in some *one* of them.

This patriotism, acting on the vitals of each state, and supported by the omnipotent desire of self preservation, would, when submission was safety and security, have effected a separation of interests by the continued operation of the same laws which led to their union.

That this confederacy did exist so long, notwithstanding this infirmity in its nature, without any articles of association creating a greater degree of mutual dependence, than a mere sense of common danger, must be attributed to some cause more philosophical than disinterestedness, or virtue. To counteract this tendency to fly off from the centre, there must have been some natural law. Nations or legislative bodies, are not disturbed or influenced by patriotism, or disinterestedness, in any case whatever. Individuals may possess many exalted virtues, but they cannot be delegated; and if they could, there are comparatively, so few of them in the population of any country that their influence would never be felt in a representative assembly.

This natural law which enabled all the Colonies to resist the influences applied to them, and still to maintain the closest union, when the causes that brought

them together had ceased to operate, was *necessity*. Many of them would have withdrawn before the confederacy was agreed upon; even before the declaration of independence was published, but for the earlier measures with which they had entangled themselves, their characters, their popularity and resources, without any expectation of the consequences.

But, whatever may now be acknowledged to have been the natural law, which brought these several parts into such intimate connexion, and afterwards supported that connexion, it will be granted that, at the time, these effects were attributed to principles materially different. The weakness of the coalition was forgotten; its tendency to separation was disregarded; patriotism and virtue were considered as ligaments capable of counteracting these natural propensities.—The declaration of independence was received as the unanimous resolve of the thirteen Colonies. And even in England, where some intimations of such a design had been rumoured in the circles of government, and where the strength of the royalists was the most intimately known, the power of that formidable minority was forgotten in the alarm of the first intelligence, and the cabinet politicians themselves, for a while, believed that the whole population of America had spoken to their oppressors. The unanimity thus exhibited in this moment of unparallelled trial, was justly regarded as portentous not only of the nature, but of the termination of the contest.

To the sober and reflecting, there was a more justifiable ground for apprehensions, or fears, as they belonged to the oppressors or the oppressed, in the cool and weighty deliberation of the men who had resolved on this measure, though they had not given an un-

animous decision, than there would have been in the most complete and unquestionable manifestations of popular unanimity. For a measure adopted unanimously by a multitude, from the nature of their deliberations, can never be so conclusive, as if it were sanctioned by the majority of a few, representing the many, even as they are usually represented. But men were never so represented, as in this Congress. The members composing it, were not only the chosen ones of their country, but chosen in the hour of trial, when only the great are to be seen; men slow in deliberation, but tried and known to be immoveable in their resolves.

The Delegates to this Congress who first gave a name to their country, were not the popular favourites who are brought into notice during the season of tumult and violence; nor were they such men as are chosen in times of tranquillity, when nothing is to be apprehended from a mistaken choice; not the favourites of a party or a family. But they were men to whom others might cling in times of peril; and look up to in the revolution of empires; men whose countenances in marble, as on the canvass, may be dwelt upon, by after ages, as the history of their times.

In periods of revolution, common men are disregarded; popular favourites dwindle into obscurity; and the humble stand contemplating the giants of their race, who have assembled and united for their protection. Such were they who composed that assembly; chosen in the most threatening hour of their existence, and placed as centinels upon the outworks of liberty.

There is something so grand and imposing in the nature of that event; in the character of the times and the actors, that we should regard it, were it a matter

of *antiquity*, as the most sublime exhibition that man has ever made to man : and nothing short of an impossibility should be listened to, as an excuse, from an American, for not being familiar with its circumstances. The Chronicles of that age should be studied with reverence and intensity, by all whose ancestors had an interest in the question; and all who experience in themselves and the security of their liberties, the mighty effects of its decision; and this, while yet they are not too far removed from the period when men feel related to their ancestors, and speak with a generous enthusiasm of their deeds ; and while yet within the time when benefactors are not quite forgotten.

If the mind were properly led to an examination of this subject, by a regular chain of deduction, from the first causes of dissatisfaction in the Colonists, to the times of greater violence, and more open and decided opposition to the British Ministry ; and thence to a period when open war was proclaimed against their formidable adversary, it will be acknowledged that there is no record in history of greater interest; nor any people, unless it be the Greeks, in their strife with the Persians, who have dared so much, with so fearful a disproportion. And should the same dispassionate consideration of the subject be resumed for another purpose, it will be found that at no time of the struggle,—from the first symptoms of disaffection, to the period when a small minority of the oppressed gave battle to their oppressors in the Eastern Colonies, to the declaration of the majority against *tyranny*, though clothed in the verable habiliments of British law, which this country so reverenced, and so cherishes yet, and to the final consummation of their in-

dependence, was there a period so critical, as when that declaration was first publickly proposed by Richard Henry Lee. Let it be supposed, for a moment, that it had been rejected. How different would be the present situation of America! France would have had no confidence in a people that had none in themselves; and to this hour America might have been a part of the British Empire. The Americans, until that paper was published to the world, had done nothing which their king might not have forgiven with dignity.

That measure to which the latest posterity of the authors will appeal as the most convincing evidence of masculine energy in peril; of decision in policy, and high minded devotion to the interest of humanity, is now considered so much a matter of course, as a proceeding so necessarily required by the situation of affairs, and so naturally growing out of them, that few will be made to understand its boldness and importance, and fewer still to acknowledge either. But let all who regard it with such indifference, or who believe it to have been the natural result of such a vast political commotion, ask themselves if *they* would have dared, in such a season of terrour and discouragement to make such a proposition, in an assembly of *rebels;* or even to vote in favor of it, if another had proposed it; and then, they may be enabled to understand how momentous was the crisis, how eventful the contemplated declaration, and how unlimited the consequences to be apprehended.

All these circumstances should be contemplated, and dwelt upon with seriousness, or justice cannot be done to the actors in those scenes. They were legislators, senators, christians, sober minded men, not

to be stirred to enthusiasm by rhetorical allusion to Greece or Rome; they were not to be hurried into an exterminating and perpetual war, as schoolboys to an exercise. The drama in which they were the actors, was to be played by men in arms, before the universe. They were men who had learned to look on death unmoved, and debate calmly in his presence. It was not desperation, not intemperate desire of vengeance which impelled and supported them; it was the immoveable resolution of men who have determined on martyrdom. As such, the Declaration of Independence was received in Great Britain. We have seen that it had been determined in the British Cabinet, at the commencement of this year, to strike a decisive blow, and by one vigorous campaign to overspread and reduce the whole Colonies at a time. To carry this plan into operation, a body of sixteen thousand foreign troops were to be employed in addition to the British forces. Notice of this measure was soon communicated to the Americans, and served but to excite in them a more determined spirit of resistance; and to give a sanction to their applications for foreign assistance. It took away the character of a domestick struggle from the war, lessened the confidence of the British in themselves, and taught the Colonies to boast that even Great Britain could not hope to reduce them without assistance. The whole of the American Colonies, in furtherance of this new system of war, and as preparatory to some dreadful punishment, had been declared, early in this year, to be out of the royal protection. This step, more than any other, operated upon the passions of the multitude; and turned the eyes of the leading men in America towards their resources. It accustomed them to con-

template the whole American people as outlaws, with whom no measures were to be kept, and against whom it was lawful to employ the mercenaries of Europe, not in battle, but as blood hounds, in hunting and extermination. The Princes of Europe, who furnished these troops, were justly regarded as a kind of contractors for cutting the throats of mankind on an extensive scale. A price was set upon the head of every distinguished man in America.—That price was the plunder of his estate and the monthly pay of his destroyers. But these were the measures of a minority, not of a nation.

The plan for the campaign was vast, and had the most important part been entrusted to a more enterprising officer than Sir William Howe, the result, for a season, might have been more auspicious; but it could not have been decisive. A greater territory might have been recovered, more brilliant advantages secured, but they must have been temporary.—The whole force employed was too inefficient to effect the total overthrow of the Colonial power, and any less successes than a complete overthrow from one extremity to the other of the confederacy, would but have animated them to a more resolute opposition, and a mightier effort for the ensuing campaign. Besides, it was teaching them to be soldiers; every defeat which was not destructive to the Colonists, was in reality a victory. Like the Spartan, Great Britain should never have fought a second battle with her foe. That this was the spirit of the Americans is proved by every page of their history. Disaster but taught them circumspection. The energies of the confederacy were never so vehemently exerted after a victory as after a defeat.

Notwithstanding all the reasoning and remonstrances of Washington, the vigour of Congress always relaxed after a successful campaign. The wisest men in America would believe the termination of the war already at hand, and it was not till after a long succession of disappointments, during every one of which their very existence as a nation was at stake, that measures were taken for a permanent war; and provision made not for reconciliation, but for a war which must and should be handed down from father to son, until the independence of the country was recognized.

The plan, as matured for the campaign of 1776, by the British Ministry, embraced three extensive objects. The first, was to relieve Quebec, and drive out the Americans from Canada. The second was to make a powerful movement upon some of the Southern Colonies; the execution of which was entrusted to Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker; both of which have been already related; And the third, and most important of all, was to take possession of New York with a force sufficiently powerful to hold Hudson river; form a line of communication with the royal army in Canada; embarrass or intercept the intercourse between the eastern and middle Colonies, and overrun the surrounding country. This expedition was committed to Sir William Howe.

The purposes of this last mentioned division of the plan, with all their consequences were foreseen by Washington, and fully understood, as will be seen by the following letter, which will serve to explain the general situation of affairs in America at the time of her becoming a confederate and independent nation. It is dated July 4, 1776, at New York, and

directed to John Hancock, the President of Congress.

"When I had the honour to address to you," he says "on the thirtieth ult. I transmitted a copy of a letter I had received from a gentleman, a member of the honourable court of Mass. suggesting the improbability of succour coming from there in any reasonable time, either for the defence of this place, or to reinforce our troops engaged in the Canada expedition. I am sorry to inform you, that, from a variety of intelligence, his apprehensions appear to be just, and to be fully confirmed: nor have I reason to expect but that the supplies from the other two governments, Connecticut and New Hampshire, will be extremely slow and greatly deficient in numbers.

"As it now seems beyond a question, and clear to demonstration, that the enemy mean to direct their operations, and bend their most vigorous efforts against this Colony, and will attempt to unite their two armies,—that under Gen. Burgoyne and the one arrived here, I cannot but think the expedient proposed by that gentleman is exceedingly just; and the continental regiments now in Massachusetts Bay, should be immediately called from thence, and be employed where there is the strongest reason to believe their aid will be indispensably necessary. The expediency of the measure, I shall submit to the consideration of Congress, and will only observe, as my opinion, that there is not the most distant prospect of an attempt being made where they now are; and if there should, that the militia that can be assembled upon the shortest notice, will be more than equal to repel it. They are well armed, resolute and determined, and will instantly oppose any invasion that may be made in their own Colony."

"I shall also take the liberty again to request Congress to interest themselves in having the militia raised and forwarded with all possible expedition, as fast as any considerable number of them can be collected, that are to compose the flying camp. This I mentioned in my letter yesterday, but think proper to repeat it, being more and more convinced of the necessity. The camp will be in the neighbourhood of Amboy: and I shall be glad that the Conventions or Committees of Safety, of those governments from whence they come, may be requested to give me previous notice of their marching, that I may form some plan, and direct provision for their reception."

"The disaffection of the people of that place and others not far distant, is exceedingly great; and, unless it be checked and overawed it may become more general and very alarming. The arrival of the enemy will encourage it. They, or at least, a part of them, are already landed on Staten Island, which is quite contiguous; and about four thousand were marching about it yesterday, as I have been advised; and are leaving no arts unessayed to gain the inhabitants to their side, who seem but too favourably disposed. It is not unlikely that in a little time they may attempt to cross to the Jersey side, and induce many to join them, either from motives of interest or fear, unless there is a force to oppose them."

"As we are fully convinced that the Ministerial army we shall have to oppose this campaign, will be great and numerous, and well know that the utmost industry will be used as it already has been, to excite the savages and every body of people to arms against us, whom they can influence, it certainly behoves us to strain every nerve to counteract their designs. I

would therefore submit to Congress whether (especially as our schemes for employing the western Indians do not seem to be attended with any great prospect of success, from General Schuyler's account,) it may not be advisable to take measures to engage those of the Eastward, the St. John, Nova Scotia, Penobscot, &c. in our favour. I have been told that several might be got; perhaps five or six hundred or more, readily to join us. If they can, I should imagine it ought to be done. It will prevent our enemies from securing their friendship; and further, they will be of infinite service in annoying and harassing them, should they ever attempt to penetrate the country. Congress will be pleased to consider the measure: and if they determine to adopt it, I conceive it will be necessary to authorize and request the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay to carry it into execution. Their situation and advantages will enable them to negotiate a treaty and an alliance better than it can be done by any persons else."

After some other remarks relating to the employment of French engineers, and intelligence received from General Greene, he continues:

"The expectation of the fleet under Admiral Howe, is certainly the reason the army already come have not begun their hostile operations. When that arrives, we may look for the most interesting events, and such as, in all probability, will have considerable weight in the present contest. It behoves us to be prepared in the best manner, and I submit it again to Congress, whether the accounts given by their prisoners do not show the propriety of calling the several Continental regiments from the Massachusetts government, rais-

ing the flying camp with all possible dispatch, and engaging the Eastern Indians."

"July 5. General Mercer arrived here on Tuesday, and the next morning was ordered to Paulus Hook to make some arrangement of the militia as they came in, and the best disposition he could to prevent the enemy crossing from Staten Island, if they should have any such view. The distressed situation of the inhabitants of Elizabethtown and Newark has since induced me, upon their application, to give up all the militia from the Jerseys, except those engaged for six months. I am hopeful they will be enabled to repel any incursions that may be attempted. Generals Mercer and Livingston are concerting plans for that purpose. By a letter from the latter, last night, I am informed the enemy are throwing up small works at all the passes on the north side of Staten Island, which it is probable they mean to secure."

"None of the Connecticut militia have yet arrived; so that the reinforcement we have received is very inconsiderable."

He then mentions having received a letter from General Schuyler, who, it appears, had addressed him on a subject of great delicacy. General Gates had been appointed to a command in Canada, and after his retreat within the division subject to General Schuyler, still continued to exercise a concurrent authority. The particulars will be related hereafter.

"The evils which must inevitably follow a disputed command," says Washington, "are too obvious and alarming to admit a moment's delay in your decision thereupon; and although I do not presume to advise in a matter, now, of this delicacy, yet as it appears evident that the northern army has retreated to

Crown Point, and mean to act upon the defensive only, I cannot help giving it as my opinion that one of the two Major Generals of that quarter would be more usefully employed here, or in the flying camp, than there: for it becomes my duty to observe that if another experienced officer is taken from hence in order to command the flying camp, your grand army will be entirely stripped of Generals who have seen service, being in a manner already destitute of such. My duties on this account; the appointment of General Whitcomb to the Eastern regiments,—a conviction in my own breast that no troops will be sent to Boston, and the certainty of a number coming to this place, occasioned my postponing, from time to time, sending any general officer from hence to the Eastward heretofore; and now I shall wait the sentiments of Congress relative to the five regiments in Massachusetts Bay, before I do any thing in this matter."

The despatch then concludes with a remark on some new arrangements in the hospital department, no further material at this time, than as they show his anxiety to create a proper dependance in the subordinate officers of that department upon some one person. This had not been done and it was an evil which, during an after campaign, acquired such an alarming influence upon the affairs of the army, as to expose them to absolute destruction. The scrutiny, experience, and sagacity of Washington saw these defects at an early period, but the men to whom he appealed could only be taught by experience.

The plain, business character of such letters as the preceding is an abundant source of the most satisfactory information. They are the history of the times. It is true they might be abridged; perhaps amended—for they were written by a soldier who would have

strangely mistaken the glory of his profession, if he had stooped to write elegantly. Some repetitions were necessary; the business upon which he wrote was of a nature that led him directly to the point—in the most urgent manner. But, nevertheless, they are records, and should be faithfully preserved in all their minuteness, and with all their redundancies. By these documents alone can justice be done to him, or to the enemy; they are the key to the whole system of measures pursued by both.

It is too late to reconcile and explain apparent contradictions and mistakes in policy after that policy has been matured, expanded, and innumerable circumstances, unknown by the opposite party at the time, have been successively developed by history. Great schemes are not to be judged of by their result. What at that time, under all circumstances, of flying rumours, and contradictory reports, attended with every degree of aggravation and misrepresentation which is so natural in seasons of alarm, was the measure of profound and discriminating sagacity, will frequently appear in the eyes of those who are no longer disturbed or terrified, as a precipitate or unjustifiable step. The conduct of the British or American commanders can only be judged of, by their supposed information of the forces and designs of each other at the time, not from recent events and disclosures. It was undoubtedly common with both commanders to hear magnified accounts of the preparations made by each other. To do justice to those who have been busy in scenes of commotion, their feelings and situation must be entered into; after circumstances and relations must be forgotten. To enable those who have an interest in the character of the soldiers and statesmen of the revolu-

tion, and wish for the vindication of their wisdom and consistency, to make that vindication themselves, such letter as will be occasionally introduced at this period of the history, will be the most effectual means They will explain every thing.

Were the feeling of the writer alone, to be consulted in a work of this nature, he would, perhaps, avoid all these minute and circumstantial details, which tend to narrow the broad and expansive views of the understanding. In the revolution of empires, it may be thought that the common fluctuations of opinion ought not to be remembered—but the latter are the symptoms of that convulsion which produces the former.

A History of the American Revolution should be written for the table, not for the shelf. The opinions and designs of such a man as George Washington, during a period like the Revolution of these states, however expressed, must be interesting long after the language of the historian, who would reject their aid, has been forgotten. If labour were to be spared, or a popular reputation to be gained, no author would descend to the humble drudgery of copying the language of another; when all he could hope for would be the praise of a faithful machine—and when such a procedure is adopted, it should be ascribed, in charity, to a sense of duty, or to some other motive as worthy. No other explanation will be given for any future introduction of such materials.

Great respect was always paid in Congress to the suggestions of the commander in chief. This letter produced a series of resolutions for raising a regiment from the troops who had served in Canada; for an immediate supply of ship carpenters to be employed by Gen. Schuyler in building vessels for the defence

of the lakes and for marching certain bodies of the Pennsylvania militia to Trenton and Brunswick, in New-Jersey, there to continue in service until a flying camp of ten thousand men were collected to relieve them; and to be taken into continental pay, with the same pay as the regulars. Further provision was also made for the defence of Georgia, by two battalions of riflemen and infantry; four gallies, and two companies of artillery to garrison the forts at Savannah and Sunbury; and Washington was empowered to order three regiments from Massachusetts Bay, for the defence of Ticonderoga, to be replaced by militia.

By the orderly books of the commander in chief at this period, it appears that he was in daily expectation of an attack. Great strictness of discipline was enjoined and to be in constant readiness for the reception of the enemy, was insisted upon with great minuteness. The licentiousness of men but newly accustomed to the life of a soldier and the duties of a camp, was frequently animadverted upon with the attention of one who was constantly upon the watch. By deserters from the enemy's fleet, it appeared that the united force on Staten Island, was about ten thousand men, and Lord Howe was hourly expected with a powerful fleet and fifteen or twenty thousand troops in addition.

A great activity, proportioned to the threatening aspect of the times was discoverable in the movements of all the Colonies; resolutions were passed in Maryland, to raise three thousand four hundred men for the flying camp; the new levies from Connecticut were hourly arriving. At the same time, an object of great anxiety to Washington, was, in some measure, effected; the powers of the Commissary General were ex-

tended; a further reinforcement of troops was to be sent to Ticonderoga from Massachusetts; an attempt was made to reconcile the relative duties of Generals Gates and Schuyler; while, throughout the country, from the most important operations of Congress, to the resolutions of the smallest assemblies, associations, and clubs, there was a general unanimity, though not obtrusive or clamorous. State constitutions were agreed upon in several of the Colonies, and officers chosen.

Small circumstances tend most conclusively to show the state of publick feeling. On great occasions the populace have their leaders. It is only on smaller subjects, when they act by themselves, that their true dispositions can be seen. On the ninth of July, a leaden equestrian statue of George III. was tumbled from its pedestal, beheaded with great formality in New-York; and sentenced to be run into bullets. This is one among many occurrences at that period, tending to show that even in times of the greatest publick rejoicing (for this was when the proclamation of independence was read to the troops in New-York,) the attention of all ranks was still rivetted upon the probable consequences of the late proceedings. While shouting for independence the very populace were preparing for battle.

The mutilation of this statue, which followed the transports of the people, was reprehended by the Commander in Chief in his orders of the succeeding day, and the troops were forbidden to mingle in such scenes.

The delegates from the several Colonies were now continually encouraged and exhorted to persist in the course they had chosen. Resolutions were passed in

the state Assemblies expressive of their hearty concurrence in the measures of Congress, and an universal enthusiasm was awakened in a population, who but a few months or even weeks before, would have shuddered at the idea of a total separation from Great Britain. As the hour of trial approached, Washington strove to impress his soldiers with a lofty sense of the importance of the cause in which they had embarked. No means could be better calculated to produce this effect than those which he adopted. He endeavoured to awaken a religious fervour in their hearts: and could they have been fully inspired with that kind of confidence in Heaven which animated his bosom, they would have been invincible. Congress had just allied a *Chaplain* to each regiment, and in his orders of the 9th of July, communicating the Declaration of Independence to his troops, he directs the appointment of Chaplains accordingly:

"Persons of good character and exemplary lives: commanding officers to see that all inferiour officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect, and attend carefully upon religious exercises. The blessings and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of publick distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavour to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

The declaration had been proclaimed on the eighth at Philadelphia, amid the loudest acclamations, and on the ninth, as directed in these orders, it was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army, at New-York, and received with the greatest enthusiasm.

The peculiar character of the times and the natural anxiety of Washington respecting the issue cannot be understood, otherwise than by a frequent recurrence to his own letters, and that too, under a full consideration of his character. When Washington saw danger and difficulty, they must have had existence. The immoveable serenity of his temper, and the scope of his designs were not to be disturbed by the common rumours or apprehensions of the day; yet there was enough to shake even his mind in the hostile preparations of the enemy. But a subject which will excite more and more admiration of his character, the better it is understood, is the wonderful clearness with which he foresaw the designs of that enemy, and the precision with which he foretold his movements. His letters, with his conjectures and anticipations at the time, would require but very immaterial alterations to be a faithful history of the views, force, and instructions of Sir William Howe. They are more like records of the past, than predictions of the future.

The following extracts are from a letter bearing date July 10, 1776, dated at New-York, and directed to the President of Congress.

"I perceive that Congress have been employed in deliberating on measures of the most interesting nature. It is certain that it is not with us to determine, in many instances, what consequences will flow from our councils; but yet it behoves us to adopt such, as under the smiles of a gracious and divine Providence, will be most likely to promote our happiness. I trust the late decisive part they have taken is calculated for that end and will secure us that freedom and those privileges, which have been and are refused us, con-

trary to the voice of nature and the British constitution"

"Agreeably to the request of Congress, I caused "The Declaration" to be read before all the army under my immediate command, and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent,—the expressions, and behaviour, both of officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation of it. I have transmitted a copy to General Ward, of Boston, requesting him to have it proclaimed to the continental troops in that department.

"It is with great pleasure that I hear that the militia from Maryland, the Delaware government, and Pennsylvania will be in motion every day to form the flying camp. It is of great importance and shall be accomplished with all possible despatch. The readiness and alacrity with which the Committee of Pennsylvania and the other conferees have acted in order to forward the associated militia of that state to the Jerseys for service, till the men to compose the flying camp arrive, strongly evidence their regard to the common cause, and that nothing on their part will be wanting to support it. I hope, and I doubt not, that the associated militia, impressed with the expediency of the measure, will immediately carry it into execution, and furnish in this instance, a proof of the continuance of that zeal which has so eminently marked their conduct. I have directed the commissary to make the necessary provision for their reception, who will also supply the army for the flying camp with rations, till a proper officer be appointed to command it."

He then proceeds, in detailing a compliance with certain resolutions of Congress, to inform them that he had ordered additional troops to Ticonderoga; express-

es great anxiety to have every inroad from that quarter, strictly guarded against, and thinks the gallies and gondolas, with the aid of the carpenters in building and repairing other vessels will be sufficient to meet every exigency.

"I have requested Governour Clark," he continues, "if the duck mentioned in Mr. Greene's letter is proper for tents, to have it made up as early as possible and forwarded here. I have also desired him to send the flints and small arms, as I have General Ward, those of the latter that were taken out of the Scotch transports—our deficiency in the necessary articles being still great."

And then, after a series of observations showing how minute and incessant must have been his attention to the most trivial matters, he proceeds.

"The Connecticut militia begin to come in, but from every account the battalion will be very incomplete, owing, they say, to the busy season of the year. The government, lest any inconvenience might result from their militia not being here in time, ordered their regiments of light horse to my assistance, part of which have arrived. But not having the means to support them (and if it could be done, the expense would be enormous,) I have thanked the gentlemen for their zeal and the attachment they have manifested upon this occasion, and informed them that I cannot consent to their keeping their horses,—at the same time wishing them to stay themselves. I am told they, or a part of them mean to do so."

"The intelligence we have from a few deserters that have come over to us, and from others, is that General Howe has between nine and ten thousand men, who are chiefly landed on the island, posted in different

parts, and securing the several communications from the Jerseys with small works and entrenchments, to prevent our people from paying them a visit; that the islanders have all joined them, seem well disposed to favour their cause, and have agreed to take up arms in their behalf. They look for Admiral Howe's arrival with his fleet and a large reinforcement; are in high spirits, talk confidently of success, and talk of carrying all before them when he comes. I trust through divine favour and our own exertions they will be disappointed in their views; and at all events any advantages they may gain will cost them very dear. If our troops will behave well (which I hope will be the case, having every thing to contend for that freemen hold dear) they will have to wade through much blood and slaughter before they can carry any of our works, if they carry them at all,—and at best be in possession of a melancholy and mournful victory. May the sacredness of our cause, inspire our soldiery with sentiments of heroism, and lead them to the performance of the noblest exploits."

What would an European captain think, if, when called to the command of an army on which the salvation of a whole country depended, instead of marshalling his soldiers for the conflict, distributing his orders with a confidence of seeing them strictly and speedily executed, however dangerous or difficult, and being always left to act at his own discretion, he were fettered in a command like that of Washington—entangled in all the intricate duties, in all the subordinate dependencies of the military system; to provide and contract for tent equipage, gun flints, and innumerable other articles of similar importance; and all this, with an authority, rather less absolute over his army,

in its operations, than a platoon officer has over his men—and, finally, to be made responsible for the success of a cause which might not be decided during the same juncture in which it had arisen, when the expense of supporting two regiments of horse could not be endured.

The requisites for the common soldier were to be found all over the country; for little education, and less of that romantick fervour, which is the life and spirit of an officer, are necessary in the ranks. The yeomanry were a vigorous race, enured to hardship, and from the nature of their employment, peculiarly fitted for some of the most laborious parts of a soldier's duty. They were accustomed to the use of the rifle, and many of them had hunted the Indian in his haunts; they were unequalled too, as General Burgoyne once said in his despatches, in the use of the spade and other entrenching tools; and to complete their character, those at least of the New England States, were pretty well informed on all subjects in which information would be useful to them, and uniformly educated with strict notions of religion. It is difficult for such men to be broken down to the formal drudgery of camp or garrison duty. They are easily led into battle, and easily continued in active warfare; for, unlike the natives of warmer climates they are not readily excited, nor readily quieted. The battle of Breed's Hill was a fair example of what might be expected from such men; but even they, with all their ardour and resolution, could longer support a cause which required a similar conflict at every little interval, than the wearisome routine of camp duty; privations and restraints of a nature, more irritating for their very insignificance, as there would have been no virtue in energy,

no heroick fortitude in submitting to them. Amid such scenes, the only enthusiasm that men of cold blood, strong minds, and sound constitutional courage, ever experience, is soon dissipated or worn away. There is no opportunity for the active virtues to be seen, and few men of vigorous minds, free thoughts, or cultivated understandings, ever become remarkable for passive endurance, submission to calamity, fortitude and the other negative qualities of inferiour minds. All opportunity for distinction is lost in the crowd of ordinary men who have not sinew enough to throw off the burden that keeps them idle. An army composed of such materials as this under Washington, at the Declaration of Independence, are less to be depended upon within their camp, or even within their entretchments, if exposed to the regular approaches of a beseiging foe, and not called upon to resist an assault, than when in the open field, opposed to artillery, cavalry or even the bayonet. The most effective men in an army, calculated to achieve a speedy independence for a country, are those who suffer most from confinement. The spirit that is most on fire for action, and most terrible in battle, can least brook inactivity and restraint.

These reflections so naturally obtrude themselves upon the mind that they may be supposed to have been familiar with the leaders of the American army at the time and, in some measure to account for the impatience sometimes manifested by Washington, to employ his troops in active service, when it appeared peculiarly hazardous. His habits of caution were sometimes influenced by the consideration that all eyes were turned upon him; but that caution when it yielded, was overcome not by such reflections, but by a

knowledge of the character of the men he commanded. It was often less dangerous to invite, or even to engage in battle, than to continue in suspense. His intention to remain in the lines on Long Island, when he expected the enemy to storm them, is an example of this kind. It occurred at a period when his force was greatly overrated, and when the whole population of the country were awaiting in breathless anxiety, some gallant exploit which would annimate the soldiers, inspirit the friends of independence, give all ranks a confidence in the leader of the army, and if not appal or dishearten the enemy, at least teach him respect for his foes.

The affairs of Congress at this period continued to increase in dignity and interest. The surrender at the Cedars had never appeared satisfactory to the public. An inquiry was commenced on the 10th of July, in Congress.

The chief object of which, after satisfying the publick mind respecting the surrender, was the vigorous assertion of the *lex talionis*, as will appear by the following resolutions :

"Resolved, That all acts contrary to good faith, the laws of nature, or the customs of civilized nations done by the officers or soldiers of his Britannic Majesty, or by foreigners or savages taken into his service, are to be considered, as done by his orders, unless indemnification be made in cases which admit indemnification, and in all other cases unless immediate and effective measures be taken by him or by his officers for bringing to condign punishment the authors, abettors and perpetrators of the act."

"That the plundering the baggage of the garrison at the *cedars*, stripping them of their clothes, and de-

livering them into the hands of savages, was a breach of the capitulation on the part of the enemy, for which indemnification ought to be demanded."

"That the murder of the prisoners of war was a gross and inhuman violation of the laws of nature and nations; that condign punishment shall be inflicted on the authors, abettors and perpetrators of the same; and that, for this purpose, it be required that they be delivered into our hands."

"That the agreement entered into by general Arnold, was a mere sponsion on his part; he not being invested with powers for the disposal of prisoners not in his possession, nor under his direction; and that, therefore, it is subject to be ratified or annulled at the discretion of this house."

"That the shameful surrender of the post at the cedars is chargeable on the commanding officer; that such other of the prisoners as were then there shewed a willingness and desire to fight the enemy; and that major *Sherburne* and his forces taken with him, though their inferiority of numbers was great, fought the enemy bravely for a considerable time, and surrendered at last, but on absolute necessity; on which consideration, and on which alone, it is resolved, that the said sponsion be ratified, and that an equal number of captives from the enemy, of the same rank and condition be returned to them, as stipulated by the said sponsion."

"That previous to the delivery of the prisoners to be returned on our part, the British commander in Canada be required to deliver into our hands, the authors, abettors and perpetrators of this horrid murder committed on the prisoners, to suffer such punishment as their crime deserves; and also to make indemnifi-

cation for the plunder taken at the *cedars*, contrary to the faith of the capitulation; and that, until such delivery and indemnification be made, the said prisoners be not delivered."

"That if the enemy shall commit any further violences, by putting to death, torturing, or otherwise ill treating the prisoners retained by them, or any of their hostages put into their hands, *recourse be had to retaliation*, as the sole means of stopping the progress of human butchery; and that punishments of the same kind and degree be inflicted on an equal number of the captives from them in our possession, till they shall be taught to respect the violated rights of nations."

These resolutions were too hastily adopted. The facts alledged were never clearly established, and the ill treatment of the prisoners was utterly denied by some of the American officers themselves, who were taken at the cedars. The refusal to ratify the cartel made by Gen. Arnold, was not only mortifying in the extreme to himself, but to other American officers, and particularly to the commander in chief, who remonstrated with Congress on the subject. But they were inflexible. It was afterwards the subject of a reproach from Sir William Howe, which stung Washington to the quick.

These resolutions, with letters to Generals Burgoyne and Howe, were immediately transmitted to Washington, by him to be forwarded as addressed. The following are his remarks in reply. "The inhuman treatment of the whole, and murder of part of our people, after the surrender and capitulation, was certainly a flagrant violation of that faith which ought to be held sacred by all civilized nations and found-

ed in the most savage barbarities. It highly deserved the severest reprobation, and I trust the spirited measures Congress have adopted upon the occasion, will prevent the like in future, but if they should not, and the claims of humanity are disregarded, justice and policy will require recourse to be had to the law of retaliation; however abhorrent and disagreeable to our natures in cases of torture and capital punishment."

Such doctrines as the above, sanctioned by such venerated authority, deserve to be narrowly scrutinized: if they be not, the plain dictates of common sense, to say nothing of humanity, but making the whole a question of expediency, are in danger of being overborne by the accumulating weight of names and precedents. It is even time that the right of retaliation should be seriously questioned, and it is doubtful if even its policy has been. The custom was first introduced by barbarians, and it has been received rather as a law, against which, it were idle to reason, than as a practice, which at every repetition would require new arguments to justify it.

Every hour is of importance in checking the encroachments of usage. What may not, now, be quite irresistible or overwhelming, soon may become so, if suffered to roll onward, with accelerated velocity and a weight constantly encreasing from the ruins it hath gathered in its progress, till the limits and land marks of national policy are swept away.—If it be not already too late to check the progress of such devastations, it soon may be, and it is the duty of those who are spectators of the ruins, to oppose themselves as a barrier to its course, till all hope is lost, whatever may be the consequence.

This was one of those opinions which, gathering strength as it has descended, has become, if not absolutely irresistible, at least so formidable as to require the most desperate efforts to check its progress.

The question will be but briefly examined here; some hints may be offered, which, if sanctioned by these who are accustomed to the consideration of such subjects, may lead to further investigations of more utility.

The system of exact retaliation, so frequently proposed in critical conjunctures, is, unquestionably, whatever else may be said of it, one of the most desperate measures of warfare. It is the last resort, and dangerous as desperate. In the first place, it is impossible to carry it into execution, even when strictly just. In the second place, if it were administered with exact retribution, it would never produce the contemplated effect. In the resolutions above, for example, Congress resolved to inflict punishments and tortures on the enemy, of the same kind and degree, which the continental soldiers received from the hands of their captors. Would it be possible to do this? certainly not. No executioners of such a judgment would be found among common men, and most certainly not among soldiers. Where should Congress look for a number of men capable of mangling, torturing and scalping prisoners in retaliation? Surely not among those who profess an abhorrence of such attrocities. But if such men could be found, who are to be the spectators? Such retribution is not to fall in secrecy and silence, for if it were, the sole purpose of the act would be completely frustrated. It should be done in *publick*, with every circumstance of horror, faithfully and minutely reiterated, and whence should the public be collected? And even admittting it were practi-

cable to repeat, in cold blood, all the agonizing cruelties upon prisoners, which are thus denounced, what would be the certain effect on the natures of all who could *enjoy* such a vengeance?—who could even *witness* it, but by compulsion? At best it is a fearful threat, but being to be uttered, it should be uttered with the deepest deliberation, with a full knowledge and certainty of the existence of those cruelties which it would thus avenge, and under an expectation of the most terrible consequences. It is true that it is rather used as a threat, to terrify, than as a sentence to be executed. But a magnanimous and great spirit will never utter a threat until it has weighed all the consequences, measured all its powers, and calculated solemnly on the worst alternative, with a full determination of performing all it had threatened. How cautious then, should be the assembled magnanimity and greatness of a whole nation, in uttering a denunciation, which cannot, from the nature of things, be ever fulfilled. Legislative bodies, like individuals are subject to passions, often troubled with a false pride, and having uttered an intemperate threat, they dare not retract—cannot submit to humiliation, and act as if all their dignity and might were pledged to a persistence in errour. It is mortifying to be driven back from an eminence we have voluntarily chosen, to retreat by compulsion, the path that we have once trodden in defiance or vengeance. And hence nations have advanced, step by step, to the sanction of butcheries, at the contemplation of which their ancestors would have shuddered, and which their future historian dare not record, or if he does, ascribe the whole to a species of national madness, which is not to be accounted for.

What would be thought of a people, pround of their refinement, boastful of their humanity, appearing as the champions of the violated rights of their species, who should requite on women and on infants, the horrible cruelties which savages, no matter under what leaders, civilized or not, had perpetrated on their prisoners, the wives and children of those who had thus resorted to retaliation? And is there, in reality, a difference between such a retribution and that which is meditated or inflicted on defenceless prisoners? These prisoners may have been taken in arms, but does that create a difference, when the law by which they suffer has been published after their arms are taken from them? When this judgement of retaliation falls upon prisoners, it is generally upon those who were ignorant of the law, captured before it existed, and already in the power of their judges; not on men who have gone into battle with a full knowledge of what they had to fear; for then there might be some colour of justice, and he who would suffer himself to be taken alive, knowing for what he was reserved, might have little reason to complain of his tortures. But to the unhappy man, who, when he was subdued by a gallant enemy, believes the hour of his danger already passed, the law of retaliation is the most cruel injustice. The former would fight to the last gasp, without lifting his hands for mercy; and, perhaps, the latter has yielded when not quite overcome.

Were this law of retaliation to be fairly incorporated in the code of national law, published to the soldiers who enlist, after the first act of reported cruelty by either party, no prisoners would be taken,—and none ought to be taken. It would be equivalent to a

denial of quarter in battle. Every war, therefore, would be a war of extermination.

But such intelligence is not communicated to the soldiers; they are kept ignorant of the terms upon which their life is staked;—the full danger of their situation is reserved for that hour when the guard houses and hospitals of both parties in the conflict, are crowded with prisoners;—prisoners who threw down their arms, as they supposed, to soldiers, not to executioners or murderers; prisoners who have surrendered under a promise of safety and protection, and who afterwards, under a plea of retaliation, are to be butchered in cold blood.

It is true that history furnishes very few examples of such a threat being carried into vigorous execution. One party or the other always recedes. But how humiliating to the national character is the abandonment of a purpose deliberately avowed. This is a degradation which is not seen, until it is too late, and then the result of such high-handed national bravado is either cruelty or weakness. All who have had the misfortune to participate in the measure, are reduced to the alternative of acting without humanity or without spirit.

All circumstances considered, therefore, this system of retaliation may be regarded as the most dangerous, if not the most unjust and impolitick measure ever devised for the protection of national rights, or the punishment of national outrage.

If, as certainly has been the case, the excesses of savages are tolerated by soldiers trained in the chivalrous school of modern warfare; if such atrocities are perpetrated in the presence of men, educated in refinement, and acquainted with the laws of humanity, the

question ought never to be asked whether it was by their permission—it would be an idle question, and could always be evaded, but let such persons have a mark set upon them for vengeance—collect the troops, and then let it be distinctly understood, that no quarter was ever to be given to them. Thus the retribution would fall where it should, and when it should, in battle. Such barbarities would soon cease. White men would soon learn that they must be prevented at all hazards. And the red men would soon feel that mercy to prisoners is mercy to themselves.

The common plea of those whites, who have led Indians into battle, and stood calmly by in witness of their massacres; or held, after the surrender of a gallant foe, the very men to whose safety they had just pledged their faith as Indians, and the character of their country for honourable warfare, plundered and butchered by a part of their own forces, is this, and it is one that no soldier should be suffered to urge, still less a commander, and under any other circumstances neither would dare to urge it, that they could not prevent it.

That an European officer, regularly trained and with regular forces, should not be able to restrain the licentiousness of a band of savages, wearied with recent slaughter, or to protect his defenceless prisoners, to whom he has just promised protection, is too shameful a story to be listened to with patience. If it be true, why make any propositions, why propose a capitulation? If he could not encourage his enemy to fight on and trust to nothing but the battle for his safety; if his duty to his own cause would not punish such martial generosity, he could, at least, insist upon unconditional submission, and give no promises. But

even then, if he could not protect his prisoners from pillage and murder, he should be responsible in his own person for all the consequences; for why trust himself with a force he could not controul? why go to battle with a band who know no law, and submit to no constraint. If he lead them to battle, knowing as he must, that they are not bound by the laws of war, and will not regard them, he cannot be allowed, if the result be calamitous, to appeal to those laws for his own protection. He has voluntarily withdrawn himself from his allegiance, and cannot resume it at discretion. He has avowed himself an outlaw, and cannot be tried by the regulations of society.

But this is never true. There never was a time when white soldiers, with bayonets, might not have prevented their red associates from the pillage or massacre of prisoners. The only proof that can be given, or should even be received of such inability, should be the lifeless body of the leader and of every white soldier he commanded. This would prove such inability, but nothing else would or should, and such would be the proof that gallant men would leave to redeem their memories. A soldier, who felt the glory of his profession, would perish for a prisoner, as he would for a woman or a child.

It is often found that the very men who allege their want of power to restrain the savages, can do it so far as their own purposes are to be obtained. Negociations, exchanges, capitulations, and cartels are entered into without interruption from the savages; yet they cannot be made to comprehend the necessity of a temporary forbearance, for the security of their prey; if they can, they may be taught all the refinements of negociation. They are only ruled by their fears, and

if they may be withheld a single hour, they may be forever.

In truth, it will be found safer to declare boldly, if such outrages are repeated that, in battle no quarter will be given to white or red men who have ever been guilty of such cruelties. It would be better to wage a war of extermination against them; but let it be a war,—let the retaliation be inflicted in battle, on men with arms in their hands, and not in cold blood, upon defenceless prisoners.

But, to return to the operations of Congress and the states:—the greatest activity continued to prevail in all directions; applications were constantly presented to Congress relative to the war, by the several Colonies, each unimportant in itself, but collectively proving how well the evils of a protracted contest with a powerful enemy were foreseen and how anxiously they were provided for. The forts at the mouths of Wheeling and the great Kenhaway, and one at Pittsburg, with their garrisons were in the continental possession: new regulations were made respecting the prisoners in the different states, and particularly in Philadelphia; where a conspiracy had lately been discovered: and, among other things of an interesting and curious nature, there was an investigation of certain *claims made* by an individual, to the office of *Commander in Chief of the American armies.*

This person, whose name was McPherson, addressed a letter to Congress, alledging that in return for an important secret communicated to Messrs. Randolph, Hopkins and Rutledge of that body, they had promised him the appointment of General in Chief. After a solemn investigation of the claims of this man, no proof appearing in support of his allegations, and one of the

members not recollecting any such promise, it was "Resolved, that the application and request of one McPherson is *unreasonable*."

There is, it must be acknowledged, something of the ludicrous, in anecdotes of this nature, not exactly suited to the gravity of History:—but they shew nevertheless, the peculiarities of the age. This Mr. McPherson was neither a madman nor a fool, or Congress would have paid no attention to his claim. They would have resolved that he was *non compos mentis*, rather than "unreasonable:" It must therefore be considered as a sober application, by a man in his senses, for the dangerous and responsible post in the appointment of the confederacy, which admitting the truth of his statement, had been promised to him by three individuals, and which, when bestowed upon another, was only the subject of a letter to Congress—instead of convulsion to the whole country by a rival faction. When was there ever seen such harmless ambition! And if the statement of the promise be untrue, it shews, still more forcibly, the ground on which pretensions to the highest rank were most confidently erected. A secret had been communicated to a Committee of Congress, and the rank of Commander in Chief of the American armies was expected as a compensation for the disclosure.

Years before this transaction, at the time of the expedition against Louisburg, many facts of a similar nature occurred. A soldier told his comrade, in a moment of confidence, amid all the bustle of preparation, when it may be supposed that every man must have had his attention fastened on the chief consequences of success or defeat, so far as they respected himself, that he had provided himself with two shirts, *one of*

them ruffled, as he had good reason to expect the office of *Governour* in the captured city. The man was, probably, the *neighbour* of his commanding officer.

Trifling as such occurrences may seem they shew, more than others of greater magnitude, the real views and opinions of the multitude.

The weather was now becoming extremely sultry and oppressive: and the constitutions as well as spirits of men accustomed to a life of rugged activity in the country, are never in such danger of a disheartening lassitude which takes away all energy from character, and all nerve from adventure, as when cooped up in their entrenchments, and subjected to the lazy routine of parading, marching, cooking and sleeping, during the summer season, in the neighbourhood of a crowded population. It required great firmness, constantly operating, and unwearied attention to the niceties of subordinate command, in Washington, to counteract this influence of the climate on a body of newly raised levies. Their natural impatience under restraint was not to be subdued; their neglect of the multitude of the common duties of their situation, respecting cleanliness, food, appearance and subordination, was not to be reformed by any but the chief authority—And the duties of Washington, at best, sufficiently irksome as a leader of such forces, if they were properly officered, became abundantly more so from their deficiency in that respect, and the enlarged scope of his designs must have been perpetually subject to the contracting influences of trivial and tiresome detail. There are few minds qualified for great undertakings, which are capable of descending to the multiplicity of inferiour affairs, however necessarily forming a part of the magnificent whole. But the daily orders of Wash-

ington are of a nature to prove that he was one of those few.

After the resolves of Congress authorizing the Commander in Chief to order the two remaining regiments of Continental troops at Massachusetts Bay, to the northern department, or whither he thought fit, he held a council of officers, and their opinion being that no attempt would be made upon Massachusetts by the enemy, he ordered them to New York. Propositions had also been made to the Indians in conformity to his wishes, and in a letter of July 9th, he expresses some anxiety that they should be engaged for two or three years—even on the terms of the regular troops.

The Connecticut light horse, of which he had previously spoken, arrived before the date of this letter, to the number of five or six hundred, but being unwilling to send back their horses, they were distributed around the country, and volunteered to act as occasion might require. After speaking in terms of considerable warmth of their zeal, he very cautiously and distantly insinuates a wish that the expense of half a dollar a week each, which was thus incurred by the owner of each horse, should be paid by government: for even this was a matter of much moment at the time, and he had no powers to guarantee an indemnity for such advances.

Much anxiety and apprehension still existed among the northern frontier inhabitants of New-York, respecting their defence against the Indians. The retreat of the northern army had thrown open all the back settlements to their merciless incursions.

As another evidence of the complicated value of his duties, and the extreme deficiency of the army in

some of their most essential parts, at a time when the enemy were close at hand, an extract from one of his despatches of the 9th of July, is here made.

"As I am truly sensible the time of Congress is much taken up with a variety of important matters, it is with unwillingness and pain I ever repeat a request after having once made it: but as the establishing of some office for auditing accounts is a matter of exceeding importance to the publick interest, I would beg leave to call the attention of Congress to an appointment competent to the purpose. Two motives induce me to urge the matter; first, a conviction of the utility of the measure; secondly, that I may stand exculpated, if hereafter it should appear that money has been improperly expended, and necessaries for the army obtained upon unreasonable terms.

"For me, whose time is employed from the hour of my rising till I go to bed again, to go into the examination of the accounts of such an army as this with any degree of precision and exactness, without neglecting other matters of equal importance, is utterly impracticable. All that I have been able to do, (and that, in fact, was doing nothing,) was, when the Commissary, and Quarter Master, and Director General of the Hospital, (for it is to them the great advances must be made,) applied for warrants,—to make them at times produce the general account of their expenditures. But this answers no valuable purpose. It is the minutiæ that must be gone into,—the propriety of each charge be examined,—the vouchers looked into;—and with respect to the Commissary General, his victualling returns and expenditures of provisions should be compared with his purchases; otherwise, a person in this department if he was inclined to be

knavish, might purchase large quantities with the publick money, and sell one half again for private emolument; and yet his accounts upon paper would appear fair, and be supported with vouchers for every charge.

"I do not urge that matter from a suspicion of any unfair practices in either of the departments before mentioned; and sorry should I be if this construction was put upon it, having a high opinion of the honour and integrity of these gentlemen. But there should, nevertheless, be some controul as well upon their discretion as honesty;—to which may be added that accounts become perplexed and confused by long standing, and the errours therein not so discoverable as if they underwent an early revision and examination. I am well apprised that a treasury office of accounts has been resolved upon, and an Auditor General for settling all publick accounts: but, with all deference and submission to the opinion of Congress, these institutions are not calculated to prevent the inconveniencies I have mentioned; nor can they be competent to the purpose, circumstanced as they are."

The same letter communicates information of an attempt made by the enemy, which was afterwards effected, to pass three ships of war up the North River. This had been a subject of constant anxiety to Washington. The great importance of the posts in the highlands was always the object of his solicitude: and every movement of the enemy threatening, however remotely, these keys to the wealth and security of the back country, was immediately communicated to Congress, and met by some counteracting movement so far as it was practicable.

The public spirit manifested by the better class of people, of whom this regiment of light horse which had lately arrived in camp was formed, at such a critical moment was not to be overlooked by the Commander in Chief, and ought never to be forgotten. It is true that these very men soon became dissatisfied and returned to their homes, but there were some reasons, which were thought sufficient with many at the time, for their return. Great zeal is always contagious; but that of the better part of the people, who have property and reputation at stake, is infinitely more so than that of persons in more obscure and dependent circumstances. Something too may be gained from a paragraph in the preceding despatch, where he speaks of employing the Indians for two or three years, unless sooner discharged, to prove that even Washington himself, with all his wisdom, foresight and providence for the worst, did not imagine the war would last one third so long as it did. But two or three years were the utmost extent of his calculations at this time.

On the 12th of this month, General Sullivan was succeeded by General Gates in the command of the northern army. A return of the troops serving in Canada under the former, was then made, and it was found that they amounted to seven thousand and six men. The whole loss sustained at Quebec, Three Rivers, the Cedars, and during the retreat from Canada, including deaths and desertions, from the 1st of April, exceeded five thousand men, and there were three thousand, beside these, on the hospital list. At the departure of General Sullivan, his officers presented an affectionate address, which, if such testimonials are now to be relied on, appeared to have been dictated by sincerity and respect: they ascribed the salvation

of the army, and all the comforts of the sick to his endeavours.

The preparations of the enemy for passing up the North River being completed, and the wind and tide being in their favour, two of their ships with their tenders on the 12th, were seen standing up for the city. As they fell abreast of Red Hook, that battery opened upon them, and all the other batteries for three miles in succession, until they had entirely passed the reach of their shot. The ships kept up a warm but ineffectual fire in return. They were hulled by several shot from the batteries. Six men were killed at one of the batteries by carelessly working a gun.

General Mifflin, as the squadron passed Mount Washington, twelve miles up the river, sent a heavy fire into them, but with what effect could not be determined; they evidently sustained no important damage, as their course was not retarded and no confusion was observed. The object of this expedition was to intercept the communication between the main army at New-York, and the northern army.

By a dispatch of the same date, Washington mentions the arrival of several ships, and among others, one with a St. George's flag at her foretop-mast-head, which was received with a general salute. These circumstances led him to believe that Admiral Howe had been joined by his brother Sir William, and consequently that the operations of the campaign were about to open.

Articles of confederation were reported in Congress on the same day. Only eighty copies were printed, with such secrecy that the printer was put under oath not to betray their contents, directly or indirectly, and no member was permitted to lend his copy to any

other person under any pretence. This was a step so teeming with consequences, that every precaution would have been necessary at any time, but particularly at this, when the enemy was hourly expected to confirm the disaffected and disturb the wavering.

On the morning of the thirteenth, an order, from which the following extract is taken, was issued. It will serve to show the singular state of insubordination in the camps even at this late hour, after such unremitted toil and attention to reduce the troops into something like military dependence.

"The general was sorry to observe yesterday, that many of their officers and a number of men, instead of attending to their duty at the beat of drum, continued along the banks of the North River, gazing at the ships. Such unsoldierlike conduct must grieve every good officer, and give the enemy a mean opinion of the army; as nothing shows the brave and good soldier more than in case of alarm, cooly and calmly repairing to his post and there waiting his orders; whereas a weak curiosity at such a time makes a man look mean and contemptible."

Among the necessities of the army, there was none more felt, or for the supply of which more strenuous exertions were made, than that of *lead*, windows were stripped, and this material wherever found, and in whatever shape, was regarded as a lawful prize to the troops. After this movement of the enemy's ships, the accelerated operations of Congress were a proof to the publick mind, that their national guardians were qualified to meet with correspondent activity, the utmost efforts of their enemy. All was bustle and preparation; even troops were ordered to the flying camp, the British prisoners in Philadelphia, were directed to

be immediately removed to the interiour; yet even in this necessary provision for the public security, the tenderness of men to the inoffensive and unfortunate was most conspicuous; the wives and children of these prisoners were permitted to remain till a more favourable season for removal. A corps of artificers was ordered to Lord Stirling's brigade, and an immediate report of all the daily accessions to the army, was insisted on with the utmost strictness, and every order of the commander in chief was filled with repetition of former ones, for the advantage of the troops who were constantly arriving, and absolutely ignorant of the most ordinary and important regulations of camp duty.

Immediately after the arrival of Admiral Howe, which took place at the time mentioned in Washington's despatch, a correspondence was attemped to be opened with the American commander, in chief, in a manner that shewed a less restricted power than became evident from subsequent intercourse. At the first commencement of the negociation, the common civilities of gentlemanly intercourse were denied to the rebel leader, as Washington was called. This must have been a matter of great moment, if any judgement can be found from the earnestness with which a British Admiral and a British general persisted in giving the title of general, to George Washington. They had their instructions on the subject unquestionably. To acknowledge him as a general, was equivalent to acknowledging the powers of Congress, and consequently equivalent to an admission that they were not an assembly of rebels, the mere ring leaders of a formidable insurrection. This point, therefore, must have been important; yet this point was relinquished in a suc-

ceeding negociation. The conclusion then which this and some other facts of the same nature, will authorize, seems to be this, that the British commissioners were to grant all, but an explicit acknowledgment of American Independence, but so to grant it, that it might be confirmed or not by the sanction of Royalty.

The late movement of the enemy's ships up the North river, which might be by having troops concealed on board to seize the passes in the highlands, was to be counteracted as soon as their purpose became apparent. Washington, therefore, as soon as they had passed the batteries, despatched expresses to General *Clinton* of Ulster, and the Committee of safety for Duchess County, to be vigilant in providing against an attempt of this kind, and the commanding officers of the two most important garrisons, to be particularly on their guard against a sudden movement of the disaffected, which at this period was much to be apprehended. They might assemble on the approach of the vessels and surprize the garrisons by land, while the enemy approached by water. These directions were promptly complied with; the garrisons were watchful, the militia assembled, and a small party of the enemy, in two or three boats, were repulsed in an attempt to approach the shore.

Under date of July 14th, the following particulars of the first attempt at negociation on the part of Lord Howe, among other things of a less interesting nature, are related.

"About three o'clock, this afternoon, I was informed that a flag from Lord Howe was coming up, and waited with two of our whaleboats until directions should be given. I immediately convened such of the general officers as were not upon other duty, who a-

greed in opinion, that I ought not to receive any letter directed to me as a private gentleman, but if otherwise, and the officer desired to come off to deliver the letter himself, as was suggested, he should come under a safe conduct. Upon this I directed Colonel Reed to go down and manage the affairs under the above general instructions.

"On his return, he informed me that, after the common civilities, the officer acquainted him that he had a letter from Lord Howe, to Mr. Washington, which he shewed under a superscription to "George Washington, Esq." Col. Reed replied that there was no such person in the army, and that a letter intended for the general, could not be received under such a direction. The officers expressed great concern—said it was a letter rather of a civil than a military nature —that Lord Howe regretted he had not arrived—that he, Lord Howe, had great powers, &c. The anxiety to have the letter received was very evident, though the officers disclaimed all knowledge of its contents.—However, Colonel Reed's instructions being positive, they parted. After they had got some distance, the officer with the flag again put about, and asked under what direction Mr. Washington chose to be addressed —to which Colonel Reed answered, his station was well known, and that certainly, they could not be at a loss to direct to him. The officers said they knew it, and lamented it, and again repeated his wish that the letter could be received. Colonel Reed told him, a proper direction would obviate all difficulties, and that this was no new matter, this subject having been fully discussed in the course of the last year, of which Lord Howe could not be ignorant.

"I would not upon any occasion, sacrifice essentials to punctilio, but in this instance, the opinion of others concurring with my own, I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment, to insist upon that respect, which, in any other than a publick view, I would willingly have received—nor do I doubt, but from the supposed nature of the message, and the anxiety expressed, they will either repeat their flag or fall upon some mode to communicate the imports or contents of it."

On the sixteenth, a further attempt was made to communicate with the American commander, by means of a letter directed to "*George Washington, Esq. &c. &c. &c.*" which was also rejected. No other course was left, however anxious Washington might have been for an adjustment of the differences, such trifling as this could not have been tolerated. It became an object of importance to the Americans themselves, from the manner in which they seemed to be regarded by the British. Besides, the former had determined on Independence, and it was certain that no satisfactory propositions could be made in a despatch where the acknowledgment of their highest military officers was denied. The negociators who would refuse to call Washington a general, would not be likely to acknowledge the American people as a free nation. Such letters, therefore, were justly regarded as a species of political legerdemain; or tricks to be played off with the greatest solemnity, only to conceal their real designs. If this were really important, Washington justly concluded that this trivial impediment would soon be removed by the commissioners themselves.

Congress were immediately informed of this second attempt, and forthwith passed a resolution, which was

judiciously calculated to quiet all suspicion of intercourse between the enemy and general Washington, merely as a private gentleman. They forbade any officer of the army, to receive any letters from the enemy, unless addressed to him in his official capacity.

In this renewal of the attempt, there was a relaxation of etiquette which to the plain republicans of the time, was a matter of infinite ridicule. The first had been sent by a Lieutenant of the Eagle; the second by Adjutant General Patterson, who was admitted to the presence of Washington without the customary precautions of blindfolding. The *et ceteras*, notwithstanding all that could be urged by the messenger, who, during the whole conference, continued to address the Commander in Chief by the title of Excellency, were not considered sufficiently explicit. "It is true," said the General, "these *et ceteras* imply every thing: but it is no less true that they imply any thing." Complaints were made by both parties respecting treatment of prisoners. The Adjutant pledged his honour that the prisoners in Boston, so far as it was practicable, had been treated with the greatest humanity and indulgence. He observed, also, in the course of the interview, that the commissions were entrusted with great powers; to which, Washington replied, "Their powers are only to pardon. They, who have committed no fault, want no pardon. The Americans are only defending what they consider their indisputable rights." And thus ended the conference, leaving an impression on the minds of the British, highly advantageous to the republican inflexibility of the Americans. Soon after this a letter properly addressed, on the subject of prisoners, was sent and received.

During these transactions, and while Lord Howe was making his pacific overtures, he sent a declaration on shore at Amboy, accompanied with a circular to the late royal Governours, directing the most extensive circulation of his proposals. So soon as these papers were received by Washington, they were transmitted to Congress, and were immediately ordered by that body, with a magnanimity that did them the greatest honour, to be published in every newspaper in the country.

Among these letters was one for Doctor Franklin, from Lord Howe, which, it was resolved at the same time by Congress, he should be at liberty to answer.

About this time, a series of resolutions were received in Congress from the New-York convention, expressing in animated language their devotion to the great cause, and proving their activity in providing any means of resistance to the encroachments of the enemy. The publick feeling was at the highest degree of tension—every eye was turned upon New-York. There it was expected, if not the fate of the whole country, the fate of Washington and his whole army was speedily to be determined. Troops were hourly coming in from all quarters.

The operations of the British were yet delayed in expectation of further reinforcements, and the Americans were thus, providentially, enabled to strengthen their position and prepare for more formidable efforts. The entrance of the New-York harbour had been fortified, so as to obstruct the approach of shipping, and as the general expectations were directed towards Long Island, for the commencement of the campaign, the Americans threw up a line of entrenchments and redoubts on the side of the island next the city, with

the hope of deterring general Howe from gaining the heights, which would have led, necessary and speedily to the command of the city. The command of these works was entrusted to General Greene, one of the best soldiers and commanders in America, and afterwards of the most essential service to the cause of the revolution; a man who united to a sort of Spartan energy, the open frank temper of a republican farmer, and the generous devotion of a great mind to a favourite cause. He was indefatigable in his preparations, and soon prepared, from his intimate acquaintance, with all the approaches to the heights he would secure, for meeting the enemy at any hour and at every point.

The small squadron about whose movements such anxiety was still entertained, had passed up the Hudson about twenty five miles, and taken a station opposite Lanytown.

On the seventeenth, the following letter was despatched by the commander in chief to Congress, briefly glancing at the renewal of Lord Howe's negociation; the various movements of the troops, and preparing further means for security as they occurred to him in the gradual developement of the enemy's design. It will be seen that the band of Connecticut light horse had thought fit, notwithstanding all their devotion to the cause of their country, to claim certain immunities which could not be granted, and the gentlemen were therefore discharged. Washington wanted soldiers, not gentlemen.

"I perceive the means Congress have taken to expedite the raising of the flying camp, and providing it with articles of the greatest use. You will see by a postscript to my letter of the fourteenth, that I wrote

to the commanding officer of the Pennsylvania militia, ordering them to be marched from Trenton, to Amboy, as their remaining there could not answer the least possible good; for, having consulted with sundry gentlemen, I was informed, if the enemy mean to direct their views towards Pennsylvania, or to penetrate the Jerseys, their route will be from near Amboy, and either by way of Brunswick or Boundbook—the lower road from South Amboy being a woody, sandy country. Besides, they will be able to throw in succour here and receive it when in cases of emergency.

"The Connecticut light horse, mentioned in my letter of the eleventh, notwithstanding their promise to continue here for the defence of this place, are discharged, and about to return home, having peremptorily refused all kinds of duty, or even to mount guard, claiming an exemption as troopers. Though their assistance is much needed, and might be of essential service in case of an attack, on their application and claim of such indulgence, to discharge them; as granting it to them would set an example to others, and might have many ill consequences. The number included in the last return, by this is lessened about five hundred!"

Within this despatch were some letters from general Schayler, respecting the affairs of the northern army, upon which, after some remarks, he proceeds thus: "I cannot express surprise at the scarcity of provisions, which General Schuyler mentions, after what the Commissary assured me, and which formed a part of my letter of the fourteenth. He still assures me of the same. This is a distressing circumstance (as every article of provision and every thing necessary for that department, can have no other, now, than a land convey-

ance; the water communication from hence to Albany being entirely cut off."

After mentioning a proportion for raising six companies of the inhabitants about the lakes to protect the frontier from the Indians, which had become a matter of much importance, he continues:

"The retreat from Crown Point, seems to be considered in opposite views by the general and field officers. The former, I am satisfied, have weighed the matter well, and yet, the reasons assigned by the latter against it appear strong and forcible."

The ships and tenders had now advanced about forty miles up the river, and were sounding with their boats, a circumstance which indicated a perseverance in their course towards the Highlands. A party again attempted to land, but were prevented by a party of militia hastily collected.

On the evacuation of Crown Point, an event so unexpected as to agitate the whole country he expresses himself farther, in a despatch of the nineteenth. "I confess the determination of the council of general officers on the seventh, to retreat from Crown Point, surprised me much, and the more I consider it, the more striking does the impropriety appear. The reasons assigned by the field officers in their remonstance, coincide greatly with my own ideas, and those of the other general officers, I have had an opportunity of consulting with, and seem to be of considerable weight, I may add conclusive. I am not so fully acquainted with the geography of that country, and the situation of the different posts, as to pronounce a peremptory judgment upon the matter: but if my ideas are right, the possession of Crown Point is essential to give us the superiority and mastery on the lake.

"That the enemy will possess it as soon as abandoned by us, there can be no doubt; and if they do, whatever galleys or force we keep on the lake will be unquestionably in their rear. How they can be supported there, or what success can be drawn from them there, is beyond my comprehension. Perhaps it is only meant that they shall be employed in the communication between that and Ticonderoga. If this is the case, I fear the views of Congress will not be answered, nor the salutary effects be derived from them that were intended.

"I have mentioned my surprise to General Schuyler and would, by the advice of my general officers here, have directed that that post should be maintained, had it not been for two causes—an apprehension that the works have been destroyed, and that, if the army should be ordered to Ticonderoga, or the point opposite to it, (where I suppose they are) to repossess it, they would have neither one place nor another in a defensible state: the other, lest it might encrease the jealousy and diversity of opinions, which seem already too prevalent in that army, and establish a precedent for the inferiour officers to set up their judgments whenever they would, in opposition to those of their superiours, a matter of great delicacy, and that might lead to fatal consequences, if countenanced; though in the present instance, I could wish their reasoning had prevailed.

"If the army has not removed, what I have said to General Shuyler, may perhaps, bring in a reconsideration of the matter, and it may not be too late to take measures for marching that post."

This despatch then concludes with a notice of the route he had appointed for three Massachusetts regi-

ments to join the northern army, which had been to march to Norwich, and thence embark for Albany; which would enable them to succour the main army, if necessary, in their route. But this order he observes, he had just countermanded, on account of the interruption given by the enemy's ascent of the North River, and adds "If Congress disapprove the routes, or wish to give any orders about them, you will please to notify me thereof, that I may take measures accordingly.

Nothing can more fairly show the painful state of dependance, in which the commander in chief was kept by the extreme jealousy of our republican forefathers, than this singular fact. Measures had been taken to obtain succours from a remote province, and the general after directing the line of march, finds all his places liable to be disordered by a parliamentary vote on the important question of this route. "Enclosed," he continues, and this meagre state of the publick finances, at the commencement of such a struggle as this, speaks volumes as to the state of preparation and resources of the country, "Enclosed I have the honour to transmit you copies of a letter and sundry resolutions, which I received yesterday, from the convention of this state. By these you will perceive they have been acting on matters of great importance, and are exerting themselves in the most vigorous manner to defeat the wicked designs of the enemy, and such disaffected persons as may incline to assist and facilitate their views. In compliance with their request, and on account of the scarcity of money for carrying their designs into execution, I have agreed to lend them out of the small stock now on hand, (not more than

sixty thousand dollars,) twenty thousand dollars, in part of what they want.

These, after some few remarks, and some of them appear in the painful light of excuses for such a step, he concludes in the following words. "I hope my conduct in this instance will not be disapproved."

Sixty thousand dollars only in the military chest at such a moment; and the commander in chief of an army raised by thirteen provinces, who had begun a war with the most powerful nation in the world, anxiously excusing himself for having appropriated twenty thousand dollars on his own responsibility!

"I enclosed Governor Trumbull, a copy of their letter," he continues, "and of their several resolutions to-day,"—"but did not think myself at liberty to urge or request his interest in forming a camp of six thousand men, as the levies directed by Congress to be furnished by the third of June, for the defence of this place, by that government, are but little more than one third come in. At the same time, the proposition I think is a good one, if it is carried into execution. In case the enemy should attempt a landing about Kingsbridge, and to cut off the communication between this city and the country, an army to hang on their rear would distress them exceedingly."

Had these anticipations of Washington been realised, the enemy would have proved himself a better general, and the American commander would have escaped abundance of unmerited censure, for having suffered his troops on Long Island, to be surrounded by a powerful fleet, and beaten in detail. The military reputation of Gen. Howe, led his adversary to calculate on a course of conduct very different from that

which was frequently pursued. It is never safe to calculate on the blunders, or omissions of an enemy.

Had Sir William Howe passed up the North River, the practicability of which movement was demonstrated by the passage of two heavy ships, it has been since thought, that he would have reduced Washington to the necessity of fighing him on some of the commanding positions, with which the country abounds, under great disadvantages; compelled him to a sudden evacuation of the city of New-York, probably with the loss of all his heavy artillery and military stores, or a surrender for want of provisions.

But these alternatives were foreseen by Washington and, consequently, provided against, and so far as the plan of defence depended on the possession of Long Island, it is extremely probable that, had General Greene retained his health and command at this critical juncture; or, had his successour General Sullivan, a gallant but somewhat improvident officer, been less confident and more cautious, the British would not have made the attempt at all; or making it, would have suffered too much for the object in view; and the result might have been totally different.

The position was strong, and in the opinion of Washington, was capable of withstanding an assault; a fine body of troops, the largest proportion of the army were entrusted with its defence. And, notwithstanding what may be said, since the issue was disastrous, the command of the heights, which overlooked the city was an object worth contending for, and when it is considered that, notwithstanding the remissness of Colonel Miles, and many other circumstances of a nature not to be provided against, because not to be expected, the American army was brought

off in safety after a defeat, no small degree of praise seems justly due to the commanding general.

The greatest captain may be guilty of an oversight, and the weakest sometimes behave with conduct and skill; but he cannot be a common man, he must be a great one, who can avoid the consequences of such an oversight.

At this time, in expectation of a movement which Washington was authorized from the character of his enemy to provide against, rather than any other, the two regiments which had been directed from Massachusetts, general Ward's division, to Ticonderoga, were ordered thither on the most direct route, without being countermanded by Congress. The miscellaneous remonstrances and wishes contained in the despatches of Washington, to Congress, considering the tardiness with which such bodies generally legislate on trifles, were assented to with unexpected promptitude. But, nevertheless, there was a lamentable backwardness to be seen in the maintaining of all measures tending to enlarge the powers of the man to whom they had entrusted their possessions, liberties and lives.

The soldiers of the present day, to whom the conduct of a campaign is entrusted, with certain discretionary powers, and armies properly provided with commissaries, paymasters, and other indispensable appendages, whose duties are all properly defined and distinguished from that of the commander in chief; and who find their complaints and remonstrances the subject of immediate attention and redress, by one man at the head of the war department, ought to study the letters of Washington, to understand the multiplicity of vexations which he had to encounter; and the full

value of such a man, at such a time, to the American people.

Among the first evidences of generous confidence in Washington, was a resolution approving his loan to the New-York convention, and trusting to him the entire disposition of his troops. This was passed on the twenty second of July, and, it is not unlikely proceeded as much from a desire to avoid the irksome and perplexing duties which were constantly encreasing upon their hands, as from confidence in him.

On the twenty first of this month, (July,) intelligence of the repulse of the British at South Carolina, was received and the liveliest demonstrations of joy were given by all ranks. Such an event at any time would have been a subject of great national exultation, but happening at this moment when the British were arrayed in their terrours, and their slaughter at Bunker's Hill had almost ceased to be regarded as a defeat, it was of infinite service in quieting the fears of the timid and strengthing the resolute. Resolutions of national acknowledgment were passed, and presented to Gen. Lee, and Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their gallantry.

The native strength of character, and noble disregard of popular clamour, so uniformly the distinguishing properties of Washington, were never more conspicuous than at this period, and during the successive disasters of the army under his command, so immediately following what was then thought a great victory.

CHAPTER XIV.

Events of 1776 continued—Necessities of the American army—Backwardness of their supplies—State of preparation—Orders, letters, remarks—Attempt to entice the foreigners from the British service.—Enterprise against the enemy's vessels in the North River.—Battle on Long Island; retreat of the Americans.—Reflections.

The concentration of the forces under Admiral and Sir William Howe, officers distinguished for their talents and experience, was to be the signal for battle. That under the immediate command of Sir William, was to be about thirty thousand men; sometimes it was less, but at one period it amounted to nearly thirty two thousand. These were chosen troops, well officered; veterans, with a fine train of artillery, and all the necessary appendages of an army in such abundance, as to present the most formidable aspect of any army ever before assembled at once on the continent of America. The total amount of the various divisions, distributed over the country for this campaign, by the policy of Great Britain, exceeded fifty five thousand men; supported by a powerful navy, always on the alert, and ready to attack every defenceless post from one extremity to the other of the Colonies. To encounter such overwhelming preparations, the Americans had but a temporary army, not half equal even in numbers to that of the enemy, undisciplined, unofficered, and unprovided even with ammunition; and no navy except a few frigates, which could only act as privateers. On the arrival of General Howe at Staten Island, the American army did not exceed ten

thousand men, and by the end of August, while General Howe had assembled at Staten Island thirty one thousand six hundred and twenty-five men, it had been gradually and slowly augmented to only seventeen thousand. Of these, a great part were militia, and one fourth part of the whole was sick. The diseases to be expected from the crowded association of new troops during the warmest season of the year, prevailed to an alarming extent, and was rendered still more threatening and destructive from the deficiency of tents.

But these few were so judiciously distributed on York Island, Long Island, Governour's Island, Paulus Hook, and in the Sound towards New Rochelle, East and West Chester, that while they were secure from any enterprise against them by detachment, they served so completely to embarass the enemy, that he acted with the most exemplary caution: a caution which, though unwilling, was at the same time an unequivocal tribute to the Americans. On the eighth of August the entire force, under the command of Washington, was as follows: ten thousand, five hundred and fourteen fit for duty: sick present, three thousand and thirty nine: sick absent, six hundred and twenty nine; on command twenty nine hundred and forty six: on furlough ninety seven; Total, seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty five. These, it must be remembered, were raw troops, very much scattered, some being fifteen miles apart, and consequently unable to unite suddenly for defence or attack. They might, from their situations, escape a superiour force, but they could not resist in hope of succour. What should have been expected of such an army, opposed to such an enemy? Not to have been swept from the

face of the earth, by the thirty thousand veterans of Europe, would have been the most exalted eulogium upon them.

Experience had taught the Americans how difficult it is to dislodge a powerful antagonist. The design of Sir William Howe had always been supposed by Washington, to be the possession of New York. After much deliberation, it was determined, as the only chance of preventing this, to throw up a chain of redoubts, hazard nothing, and wear away the campaign by ineffectual skirmishing and delay. Such a system would accustom the new troops to stand fire; give them confidence in themselves and their officers; and gradually weaken the enemy who could not supply his losses, while the American army was constantly encreasing in strength, numbers, discipline and experience. The good effects of this system was always conspicuous wherever it was steadily pursued; the men in the ranks were every hour becoming better soldiers; and their officers were acquiring a greater relish and respect for the military character and science.

The Americans, from their want of experience, were not to be trusted in the field. An entrenchment, however weak, was regarded as a defence; and the British, from their reception at Breed's Hill, were not particularly anxious to inspect any of the American lines so closely, as to discover their efficiency or inefficiency to withstand an assault. These works, which were thrown up at Long Island, at Haerlem Heights, and round the city, consisted of field redoubts of earth, with a parapet and ditch, with batteries. Slight as were these obstacles, yet the season for the campaign was nearly consumed before they were so far overcome as to allow the enemy to penetrate the country.

These vast preparations for their punishment, instead of alarming or disheartening the Americans, only served to excite them to more vigorous counteracting exertions, and to draw them into a closer and stronger alliance. The Colonies were but the more firmly united to each other by the pressure applied on all sides; until they became, literally one body and one soul, feeling through all their frame alike, an injury inflicted upon the most inconsiderable member. The flying camp, respecting which General Washington had manifested so much anxiety, was to be composed of a kind of troops between a regular and militia force. This camp had been completed, but the backwardness of the militia, relied upon for its defence, prevented any active movement, even for defence.

The fear of the Commander in Chief for the important passes in the Highlands, was not yet allayed; but it was not possible, under the constant expectation of an attack, to spare any part of his inconsiderable force. Situated as he was, it would have been rashness to weaken the main army for such purposes, or to employ any part of his command for the construction of works not absolutely necessary to the preservation of the army, one step beyond his power of supporting them in emergency. There were points to be guarded in every direction, each of the greatest importance, in the views of those who had most at risk in its vicinity, and Washington had not, by one third, troops enough for the defence of New York.

On the 21st of this month (July,) a desperate plot of the loyalists in the back part of New York, was disconcerted by General Schuyler. The parties or ringleaders were not known, as the General was bound to secrecy by an oath. On the 22d, the Commander of

each department was authorised by Congress to negociate an exchange of prisoners, on terms of complete reciprocity, rank for rank; the resolutions recognizing at the same time, the right of each state to make its exchange on its own terms for prisoners taken or lost by itself. And, on the same day, it was also determined to emit five millions of dollars in bills of credit.

An irregularity in the recruiting service at this period, had proceeded to such an alarming length that it became necessary for the Commander in Chief to take notice of it. It was first the trick of some needy villain, with little sense of shame, but it had extended so far as to be practised by not only the privates, and men who would have scorned any thing dishonourable, but even by their officers, as a justifiable and profitable traffick.

"It is with great astonishment and surprise," says Washington, in his order of the 23d, "the General hears the soldiers enlist from one camp to another, and frequently receive a bounty, and that some officers have knowingly received such men. So glaring a fraud upon the publick, and injury to the service will be punished in the most exemplary manner."

And by the following extracts from the order of the 24th, the necessities of the army, the state of appropriations, and allowance for minute expenses, with the scrupulous attention to economy, which was indispensable, will be seen in a light almost ludicrous.

"Each Brigadier, with the Colonel and Commanding Officer of the several regiments in his brigade, are to meet and estimate the quantity of paper absolutely

necessary to serve a regiment for returns and other publick uses for a month, and make a report." This report was made on the 28th as required; and the Quarter Master was directed "to furnish each regiment with twelve quires per month, in the following proportions, viz: one to the commanding officer, one to each company—the remaining two quires to be kept by the Colonel as a reserve for special occasion."

"The general being sensible of the difficulties and expense of providing clothing of almost every kind, feels an unwillingness to recommend, much more to order any kind of uniform; but as it is absolutely necessary that men should have clothes, and officers be decent and tight, he earnestly encourages the use of hunting shirts, &c.

"No dress can be had cheaper, none more convenient, as the weather may be cool in warm weather, and warm in cool weather, by putting on woollen clothes, which will not change the outward dress, winter or summer. Besides which, it is a dress justly supposed to carry no small terrour to the enemy, who think every such person a complete marksman."

"Disagreeable as it is to me, and unpleasing as it may be to Congress to multiply officers, I find myself under the unavoidable necessity of asking an increase of my Aides de Camp. The augmentation of my command, the increase of my correspondence, the instructions to draw, cut out more business than I am able to execute in time with propriety. The business of so many departments centering with me, and by me to be handed in to Congress for their information—added to the intercourse, I am obliged to keep up with the adjacent states, and incidental occurrences, all of

which require confidential writers to execute, renders it impossible, in the present state of things, for my family to discharge the several duties expected from me, with that precision and dispatch that I could wish; what will it be then when we come into a more active scene, and I am called upon from twenty different places at the same instant."

"Congress will do me the justice to believe, I hope, that it is not my inclination or wish to run the continent into any unnecessary expense; and those who better know me, will not suspect that show and parade can have any influence on my mind in this instance. A conviction of the necessity of it, for the regular discharge of the trust reposed in me, is the governing motive for the application, and, as such is submitted to Congress."—. His prayer was granted on the 29th, and he was authorized to appoint another Aid de Camp.

Under date of the twenty-seventh, the following reflections occur in one of the communications to Congress, by the commander in chief. They show the unhappy policy of temporizing on great occasions. Congress, by offering a bounty disproportioned to the service expected from their troops, was overbid by individual states, and the most disastrous rivalship and competition was thereby introduced. A soldier had lost the first impulse that made him shoulder his musket, as he heard the step of the invader, he stopped to bargain for his resistance; he was no longer the champion of liberty, who accepted pay, not as a reward, not as a price for his blood, but because it was absolutely necessary, for his subsistance; he had degenerated to a mercenary, who sold his sword and his strength to the highest bidder, and thought more of his hire than the cause in which he had engaged.

It is not to be expected, that the soldier in the ranks should be above the passions of his nature—he is always poor, and cannot offer in this country, when he has abondoned his farm or trade, to fight, like Washington, only for reputation. He must have pay, for he is too poor to toil for nothing. But, it might have been expected of the revolutionary soldiers, that all mercenary views were strangers to their hearts, that they did not fight like European bravoes, and but for Congress, these expectations would have been fully realized, romantick as they may appear.

But the Congress of the confederacy, and the Convention of the several states, persisted in treating their troops as day labourers, and by a continual competition in price, wasted away, or exposed to ridicule, that lofty enthusiasm which renders an army invincible. When a price had once been offered by Congress, and any one of the states, no matter from what necessity, had offered a greater one, the former should have spoken boldly and decidedly by its resolutions, and checked this invasion of its sovereignty. It could not have been more destructive to the interests of the confederacy, had a power been exercised by such state in negociation for a separate peace.

The extract, also seems to be, if not the very first at least one of the first indications of an expedient, which has since been practised with much success; that of granting wild lands in bounty to the soldiers.

After some remarks on the discouraging prospects of the officers in the recruiting service, he proceeds, "Indeed, I am fearful from the inquiries I have made, that their utmost exertions will be attended with but little success. It is expected that the bounty of ten dollars is too low, and argued—' If the states furnish-

ing men for five or six months, allow considerably more, why should that be accepted, when the terms of it are to be for two or three years?' I heartily wish a bounty in land had been or could be given, as was preferred some time ago. I think it would be attended with salutary consequences."

In the mean time, the militia continued to assemble with great reluctance; so late as the twenty-second of July, there were but three of the ten thousand, collected for the flying camp; but with these Washington had determined to make some blow at the enemy, if any opportunity should offer, where little would be hazarded. He was also making arrangements for an attack with five ships and gallies upon the ships up the North River, which was afterwards attempted, but without success. Parties were frequently sent on shore after live stock, but were as often driven off, and on one occasion, with the loss of fifteen dead.

An inquiry had been instituted in Congress, soon after the retreat of the American army from Canada, into the causes thereof, and on the thirteenth of July, the following report, showing reasons enough for the disaster, but not the whole of them, was made and accepted.

"The shortenl istments of the continental troops in Canada, have been one great cause of the miscarriages there, by rendering unstable the number of men engaged in military enterprise; by making them disorderly and disobedient to their officers; and by precipitating the commanding officers into measures, which their prudence might have postponed, could they have relied on a longer continuance of these troops in service."

"That the want of hard money has been another great source of the miscarriages in Canada, render-

ing the suppplies of necessaries difficult and precarious; the establishment of proper magazines absolutely impracticable, and the pay of the troops of little use to them."

"That a still greater and more fatal source of misfortunes has been the prevalence of the small pox in that army, a great proportion thereof has thereby been kept unfit for duty."

These were certainly conclusive reasons for the evacuation of Canada, but there were others combined with these, which would have produced the same effect, had none of these existed. They were in an enemy's province—the population was not to be depended upon, a great extent of country was to be overrun, and posts to be garrisoned, which would have required a force, at least four times as numerous as was allowed. There might have been but little difficulty in conquering Canada, but there would have been much to keep it, with the most powerful army that was ever united during the revolution. The enemy were strong and at home. The invaders, as is always the case, unless they are so powerful as to sweep every thing before them, had to fight their way to their provisions, and slept literally with their arms in their hands.

On the thirteenth, further information respecting the movement of General Schuyler, was received by Washington, which was immediately communicated to Congress. It is worth attention.

"You will perceive his reasons, "he says" for leaving Crown Point, and preferring the post which the council of officers determined to take, opposite Ticonderoga. I am totally unacquainted with these several posts and the country about them, and therefore cannot determine on the validity of his observation,

or think myself at liberty to give any direction in the matter.

"Congress will please to observe what he says of their distress for money. From hence, he can have no relief, there being only about three or four thousand dollars in the paymaster's hands, according to his return this morning."

This is another example of that lamentable deficiency in every thing necessary for defence. Such facts render the battles and events of the revolution little less than miraculous. How men could spill their blood and starve and freeze on credit, while the cities and towns of their country were crowded with wealthy people, living comfortably, without participating in their dangers, or even contributing to their support, is a question that only the soldier of that day can answer.

"In my letter of the twenty-seventh" he continues, "I informed Congress of my views and wishes to attempt something against Staten Island. I am now to acquaint them, that by the advice of General Mercer and other officers at Amboy, it will be impracticable to do any thing upon a large scale, for want of craft, and the enemy have the entire command of the army all round the island."

Under the same date, Washington expresses a respectful anxiety, that the Stockbridge Indians shall be employed, and remarks that they were dissatisfied at not being included in the late order for enlisting their people, and had inquired the cause of General Putnam.

The reasons he assigns for recommending their employment, are such as have influenced, and probably determined the Americans, from that time to the ter-

mination of the last war with Great Britain; that is, the impossibility of keeping them neutral; the fear of their joining the enemy, while the customs of savage warfare are so repulsive to all the feelings of humanity, and pride of a soldier, that it would seem no palliation could be received for the crime of having sanctioned them by example. Yet it should be remembered, that when Indians have been employed by Americans, they have always been restrained; no examples of their cruelty have occurred. They have always been associated with regular troops, not slipped upon their prey, and left to hunt it down after their own manner. And, generally, they were employed in scouting parties, where they could only murder other scouting parties of the enemy, and when they fought, they fought with men. These circumstances take off all the horror which is felt from such alliances. Indians are active and serviceable when properly employed.—They are the best defence against Indians. Acquainted from their birth with wiles and stratagems, they can trace an enemy, and tell its numbers, its footsteps, when the eye of the white man cannot discover a trace; and the moving of grass or rushes, which would be unregarded by a regular soldier, as the natural effect of winds, leads the Indian to be prepared for an ambush. The certainty that the Indians can be restrained, when it is wished, reconciles the opposite contradiction which has been so often seen between the complaints made by the Americans, that the enemy employed savages, at the every moment that they also employed them.

To return once more to the minuter affairs of the army, examples of insubordination and disregard of all the rules, by which a camp is regulated, were so

frequent at this late period of their enlistment, that scarcely a day passed without a court martial on some officer, for the most extraordinary offences; and the orders of every morning were a journal of offences and misconduct, of a nature so shocking to all the habits and opinions of a regular bred soldier, that he would be led either to doubt their history, or to believe what was indeed the truth, that there was never a body of men so difficult to be reduced to military discipline, and never a general who had so discouraging a task to perform. It is easier to conquer kingdoms than habits. A band of Germans would have been a phalanx of machinery, in less time than it took to make a platoon of Americans perform the simplest evolution with precision. It has been said, that Frederick of Prussia never required more than six weeks, to make soldiers of his boors; but his boors were not Americans. With the power of life and death in the hands of every officer, from the highest to the lowest, miracles may be wrought in training an army; but where every man is as free and as high spirited as his officers, whole years are wasted in teaching them the aspect and attitude of slaves. Freemen never make soldiers; they are excellent heroes and daring leaders, but they are never effectual in the ranks, till they have become the merest machines, or in fact slaves.

The following act of atrocious villainy, is recorded as one which in the then state of society, excited more emotion and horrour than could be easily conceived. Murders were so uncommon in America, that the name of every criminal in the ranks, could be told by a child; and when this took place, it seemed to the good people of the eastern states, as if this war had released all the obligations of society, armed every man against

his brother, and made every soldier of necessity, little better than a murderer, who after the business of the war had declined, and his employer had no further occasion for his services, would be likely to take up the trade for himself. There was indeed some truth in these fears. There is a dreadful fascination in the trade of blood, and men do no not willingly abandon it. The rolling of drums and the floating of banners, are too often regarded as a signal for the bursting asunder of all the ties of civil society. They who have chosen their leaders, are dependent no longer on any others, and the laws are safely set at defiance. But such deeds as this can only be perpetrated by beings, who, under any government, civil or military, and in any state of society, from barbarity to refinement, would be only restrained from crime by extinction.—They must cease to live, or must be murderers. Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, of the British army, an excellent officer and an amiable man, while riding slowly and unsuspicious, though surrounded by Indians, from St. Johns, to Chamblee, was shot by a *Green Mountain boy*, and robbed of his watch and sword. Some little stir was at first made about it, by those who had the power to bring the wretch to the gallows, but it was so languidly continued that he escaped.

On the first of August, an alarming spirit of jealousy and recrimination appeared among the troops. The whole army was divided into parties. The southern and middle were arrayed against the eastern troops. Washington felt himself imperiously called upon to quell the threatening symptom. For some weeks before, complaints of this nature had been made, but the evil was not considered so extensive as it soon appeared to be. It was regarded rather as the natural consequen-

ces of different local habits, which would soon be smoothed into uniformity, than as a provincial antipathy, which was not to be conquered but by the most vigorous and severe measures. Being a matter, even then, of great delicacy, and not being within the reach of the military powers with which Washington was invested; for the mischief had not yet become turbulent or publick, but was to be seen working its way in silence, into all the veins and arteries of the army; he could not exercise his authority as a general; all he could do was to remonstrate with them like a man.—The influence he could have at this state of the affair, was only that which proceeded from his character and virtues, not his rank.

"It is with great concern," thus the order commences, "The general hears that jealousies and divisions have arisen among the troops from the different provinces; of reflections thrown out which can only tend to irritate each other, and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart. The general most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences; that they can in no way assist our cruel enemies more effectualy than by working a division among ourselves; that the honour and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sink in the name of an American. To make this honourable and preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation, and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot who contributes most to this glorious work, from whatever part of the continent he may come.—

Let all distinctions of nations, countries and provinces be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humour to each other."

The enemy were constantly receiving augmentations, during these occurrences in the American camp, and on the first of August, were joined by a fleet of forty sail, which was supposed to have brought the division of Hessians, so long expected. Every moment gave indications of an attack, and every moment but the better prepared both parties for a desperate struggle. The American troops were still very sickly, but were constantly receiving small reinforcements.

Congress had already begun to rid themselves of many irksome duties, and either by granting a general extension of power to Washington, or by passing resolutions in particular questions as they arose, enabled him to act with more confidence and uniformity. He was authorized, among other things at this time, to employ as many of the Stockbridge Indians, as he thought proper.

Such manifestations of encreasing confidence from these jealous republicans, was, undoubtedly, very gratifying to the American commander, as they were the only evidences of a popularity which could not be distrusted; or which tended to enlighten the perplexities of his way. Every augmentation of his command necessarily made his duties lighter; caused a part of his responsibility to descend upon others, as he was permitted to constitute officers, and delegate a part of his authority; gave the army more confidence in him; rendered that extreme simplicity which had hitherto been so necessary, lest some part which depended on

the approbation of others, might not be sanctioned by them, no longer material; gave in short unanimity in effort and activity in execution. The time that had hitherto been consumed in correspondence with Congress, on the expediency of measures, was now found more than sufficient to carry it into execution. Under the new arrangement, had it been perfected, an enterprize might have been completed, before a national assembly had determined upon it. There can not be a greater absurdity in politicks, and it is still greater in war, than to legislate on trifles; to be employed in framing plans that can no longer be executed, and improving opportunities which have already passed.

The long meditated attack on the vessels in the North River, was at length carried into execution.—Col. Tupper, with a few gallies attacked them with great spirit, but no decisive advantage appeared to result from it, as the enemy still kept their position. The gallies were considerably shattered; and the enemy, it was said, received several shot in the hull.

On the fifth of August, the long protracted negociation respecting prisoners was brought to an issue.—General Howe agreed to an equal exchange within the limits of his power. Intelligence of certain aggressions of the Portuguese being received, Washington thus expressed himself. The soundness of his remarks will not be denied by any modern politician.

"Their dependence," speaking of the Portuguese, "upon the British Crown, for aid against the Spaniards, must force them to reply to any thing required of them." He mentions the capture of several Americans by them, and the amount of several American prizes. Much miscellaneous intelligence, of a nature like the preceding, which cannot be omitted, it is

impossible to interweave with the body of the work, so as to present an uninterrupted narrative. At this period, until the great movements on Long Island, a Journal would be more interesting than a History, occasionally therefore, the occurrences of the day will be exhibited in the character of the former.

On the fifth of August, a petition was presented by Commodore Hopkins, to Congress, complaining of slanderous rumours respecting his late conduct, praying a copy of the proceedings and allegations presented in that body against him, and an investigation.—A day was appointed for the purpose, and it was determined that he had deviated from his instructions, and that his excuses therefor were altogether dissatisfactory; but the final judgment, in compliance with a request of the delegates from his native state, Pennsylvania, was postponed from several successive days to the sixteenth, when a vote of censure was passed upon him for his misconduct, but he was retained in command.

On the same day a resolution was passed, authorizing the letters of marque and privateers, to man their vessels with the sailors captured from the enemy. The policy of such a measure, deserves a serious inquiry; and so far as morality is concerned, if such a thing be not too ridiculous, when spoken of in national subjects, it should be severely reprehended. If native sailors were not numerous enough to man twenty ships, let ten be manned without foreigners. They would be more efficient. A few foreigners on board a vessel, are of very little use, and many are dangerous. The morality of the question can be settled in a word. A traitor is criminal, or he is not. If he be criminal, the tempter participates in his guilt; and if he be not, how

can he be punished. The nation that tempts the subjects of another to treason, is always most severe against her own subjects. In either case such a measure is the extreme of folly, wickedness and inconsistency.

This, among other absurdities, said to be tolerated by the laws of war, is one which the ablest disputants never attempt but by custom. There are many others, and one in which a few remarks at this time may not be considered entirely misplaced, though thanks to the pride and feeling of the moderns, it is now abolished in the armies of France and America; it is that of corporal punishment. It was admitted at all seasons and for all offences in the American camp.

Popular as the contest with England, for the independence of the Colonies, was at first with the American soldiery, yet, as it is common with popular enthusiasm, which perishes as unexpectedly as it blazes, there were numerous instances of desertion from the American camp; and the common punishment for those who were retaken, in conformity to the barbarous and wretched policy of the times, was usually a sound flogging. To accustom a soldier to this degradation, or even to think of it with any degree of patience is death to all that makes him terrible to his enemy.—Notwithstanding all the arguments in its favor, and all the alleged insensibility of a man in the ranks, to the nobler impulses of his officer, it is cowardice to inflict a blow upon him; shameful to him if he bears it calmly, and death if he resists.

Every man who has within him, what will qualify him for a soldier, should be taught to regard a blow as the last insult—as one for which there is no atonement, even when not given with the common instru-

ment of punishment for a felon; but when thus administered, it is surely, the consummation of indignity. If a deserter be taken, it would be magnanimity to bayonet him on the spot. Do this—let him be put to death, but not dishonoured. Break not his spirit with a load that no time, no conduct, no rank and no reputation can ever lighten. Place not upon the fame of him who has worn the armour and fought the battles of his country, the everlasting brand of servitude. It is said that a capital punishment for such offences, is forbidden by humanity. Humanity! a soldier who might still be a hero, though he had deserted once; who might live to redeem himself from his own reproaches, who might live and die like a soldier, if he were permitted, is stripped before his comrades and lashed by a scoundrel drummer, like the vilest malefactor. Every soldier in America at such an hour should be taught to cry out like the Roman, who was scourged, I am an American! Let a soldier be hardened for the conflict—let him be taught to meet death with compassion and to endure torture without shrinking, but let him not be thus disciplined at the halberds. He only learns to outface infamy there—to die with his ignominy gnawing upon his vitals, and preventing him from ever being a man again; or it hardens him for a desperate revenge.

Fortunately for the pride of a soldier in America, at this day, that brutal outrage upon all the feelings of manhood, has been stigmatized as it deserved—and the consequence has been that in the American armies, a soldier has nothing worse than death to apprehend for any crime—but the sailor is still unprotected. The men who have done more than all others to give a name and a rank to their country, who have gone down

to the great deep and battled with its monarchs, are still left to be scourged at the gangway, before the very men who have just seen them directing their guns, and heard their cheerings, amid the thunders of the battle. The practice is a national reproach, and if continued, the pride of the seaman will be extinct—the glories of his country will be quenched forever; but enough—the movements of the army now require a share of attention.

A great delay in the appointment of general officers had taken place; and there was still a great deficiency in this essential part of the army. This delay had been caused by the difficulty of selection. "This army," says Washington, in renewing his application on the subject on the seventh of August, "though by far short yet of the numbers intended by Congress, is by much too unwieldy for the command of any one man, without several major-generals to assist;" and after some observations upon their duties and usefulness, he continues, "at present, there is but one major-general for this whole department, and the flying camp; whereas, at this place alone, less than three cannot discharge their duties with regularity."

Mary serious and delicate questions had arisen respecting the mode of appointment, and Washington thus expresses his sentiments on the subject. "To make brigadiers of the oldest Colonels would be the most unexceptionable way, but it is much to be questioned, whether by that mode, the ablest men would be appointed to office. And I would observe, though the rank of the Colonels of the eastern governments was settled at Cambridge, last year, it only respected themselves, and is still open as to the officers of other governments. To pick a Colonel here and a Colonel

there, through the army, according to the opinion of their abilities, would, no doubt, be the means of making a better choice, and nominating the fittest persons; but the previous officers would get disgusted, and it is more than probable, with their connexions, quit the service. That might be fatal at this time. To appoint gentlemen as Brigadiers, that have not served in this army, (in this part of it at least) would not hurt any one in particular, but hurt the whole equally, and must be considered in a very discouraging light to every officer of merit. View the matter, therefore, in any point of light you will, there are inconveniences on the one hand and difficulties on the other, which ought to be avoided. Would they be remedied by appointing the oldest colonel from each state?"

These were indeed questions of no ordinary importance. The very existence of the army was involved in their decision. The efficacy of it necessarily depended on a judicious selection, but this could not be made without violating the best established, and most salutary regulation for military advancement.

On the seventh of August, the southern fleet and army, with General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, fifty-five transports and about three thousand men, arrived at Staten Island. Within the three or four preceding days, eleven other transports, with a part of the division of Hessians, had also arrived, and the remainder, which would united amount to about twelve thousand, were expected every hour. Sir William Howe seemed preparing for instant operations; their heavy carriages and cannon were embarked, and he had launched a number of gondolas, with flat bottoms, and two rafts for cannon. By deserters from the British

fleet and army, Washington was informed of these preparations.

On the eighth of August, after some movements of the enemy's shipping, which indicated some important operation, the following order was issued.

"As the movement of the enemy and intelligence by deserters, give the utmost reason to believe that the great struggle in which we are contending for every thing dear to us and our posterity, is near at hand—the general most earnestly recommends the closest attention to the state of the mens' arms, ammunition and flints, that if we should be called suddenly to action, nothing of this kind may be to provide; and he does most earnestly exhort both officers and soldiers, not to be out of their quarters or encampments, especially in the morning, or upon the tide of flood."

Letters were received at the same time, confirming the intelligence communicated by some deserters, respecting the Hessians, and even representing the enemy's force to be still more formidable. Washington felt that the crisis was approaching; he wrote frequently and earnestly to Congress and the neighbouring states, urging the most vehement exertions to meet the necessities of the occasion, and concludes a letter of the eighth, in which he expresses a great degree of confidence in the support expected; complains of a great deficiency in his present force, and announces a mission to the Stockbridge Indians, to engage their assistance, in these words, relating to the troops he had called for from Connecticut. "I confidently trust they will not be withheld."

And they were not withheld. Every exertion was made, not only by that, but by all the other governments, to furnish them in season; but in a country

where every man is free to enlist or not, after the first ebullition of patriotism has subsided, the most ardent and persevering efforts can go no farther in enlisting others, than to offer the bounty and point to the enemy; and this bounty, unfortunately, was then understood as an offer—a bid, which those who were to be purchased, knew must be augmented if they refused it. This was the natural consequence of the disgraceful competition which had already taken place between the general and state governments. The enemy was at too great a distance from the habitations of each individual to awaken him from his apathy. Had he approached, their native valour would have led them to confront him. The terms would have been forgotten, and only the occasion for battle remembered.

On the ninth of August, these indications became still more threatening. A great number of boats were seen passing with troops from Staten Island to the ships; three of which dropped down towards the narrows. From the observations made by General Greene, he was led to suppose it a general embarkation.

Under this date, Washington gives a return of his whole army. It amounted to seventeen thousand, two hundred and twenty-five. But of these only ten thousand, five hundred and fourteen were fit for duty; and in case of an immediate attack, he says, he is certain only of *Smallwood's* battalion from Maryland.

With this inconsiderable army, scattered about, some fifteen miles apart, with waters between them—with a contagion prevailing among them to such a degree, that Washington himself, says "the proportion of men that may come in cannot be considered as a real augmentation"; with this army, deficient in officers, inexperienced, undisciplined, and unprovided even with

the most absolute necessaries, Washington was to dispute for an empire, with an army of thirty thousand veterans, inured to battle, familiar with death, accustomed to their officers—with one of the finest trains of artillery, with which any army was ever furnished—and a powerful fleet. Or, admitting that the total force of the enemy was deficient in equal proportions, which cannot have been true—as they were veterans who had outlived their apprenticeship to war—and they were too far from their families to be weakened by furloughs, they could muster more than two men for every one of the Americans:—they could even bring into the field a greater proportion—for they were the assailants—could concentrate their whole forces and choose their point of attack; yet such was the relative strength of these two armies—after all the preparations in America—when the eyes of the whole country had been turned upon the preparations of the enemy for whole months—and were looking to the issue of the first conflict as the surest prognostick of final independence or subjection.

By two American gentlemen who had arrived at Staten Island, from England, information was brought of a change in the French Ministry, which was thought to forebode a war with Great Britain. At Staten Island they reported that every preparation was making for an immediate attack; that about fourteen thousand troops were then on the Island, waiting only for the foreign forces, only a part of which had yet arrived. Whether any attempt would be made without the expected reinforcement, was uncertain, but there was no doubt that one would, the moment they had arrived. They expected also, from conversations held with the [illegible] the enemy, that they meant to hem in Wash-

ington and his army, by getting above them, and cutting off their communication with the country. The expectations of such an attempt, were still further strengthened by the circumstance that several ships of war and other vessels had put to sea within a few days, which, it was expected were to go round the island and come up the Sound.

On the ninth, the following orders were issued.—"The General expects every man, both officer and soldier, to have his arms in the best order; not to wander from his encampment or quarters; to remember what his country expects from him; what a few brave men have lately done in South Carolina, against a powerful fleet and army;—to acquit themselves like men, and with the blessing of heaven on so just a cause, we cannot doubt of success."

It had been thought in England, that exertions would be made by the Americans, to entice the foreigners from the British troops, and the opinion was a subject of publick speculation there. Taking advantage of the hint, if it had not already been a subject of consideration in Congress, that body on the ninth of August, passed a resolution, appointing a committee of three to devise a plan for encouraging the Hessians and other foreigners employed in the service of Great Britain, to desert--or as it was termed "to quit that iniquitous service."

On the same day, the long and troublesome question, respecting the selection of officers, was brought to a termination, and four Major Generals, with six Brigadiers were appointed.

Still farther extracts must be made from the orders. Every American ought to be familiar with the troubles of Washington. Every soldier should be qualified to

judge of his patience, and to do justice to his perseverance. Even so late as the eleventh of August, when the enemy was expected every moment, such irregularities as are reprehended in the following extract, were common in the American camp. Rigorous measures would not have succeeded at such a season. The whole army might have been scourged and cashiered, without being reduced to an observance of the most ordinary rules of discipline. They could not see the utility of such measures. They were to be taught in no other manner than by suffering and misfortune, the true difference between an European soldier, who eats, drinks and sleeps like a piece of machinery, and an American woodsman, in camp, who had always been accustomed to disregard all regulations on such subjects as beneath his attention. These men could fight—for that was in their natures;—and no education was required to qualify them for that part of their duty; but to move them in concert, with regularity and coolness, must have been impracticable at a time when the very centinels were accustomed to sitting, and perhaps sleeping on their posts.

"The practice of sentries sitting on their post," says Washington in his orders of the eleventh, "is so unsoldierly, that the general is sorry to see it prevail so much in the army. At night, especially, it is of the most dangerous consequence."

On the twelfth, he observed in a letter to Congress, that the convention of New-York had been exerting itself to form an encampment above Kingsbridge. The number of militia then assembled, and on the march, he estimated at three thousand, but added, that no calculation could be made respecting the

succours from Connecticut. Under the same date, he communicated the purport of a letter received from general Lee, who was extremely sanguine respecting the advantage to be obtained from the employment of about one thousand cavalry, in the southern department. "Without them," said General Lee, "I can answer for nothing—with one thousand I will ensure the safety of those states." To this, Washington added his testimony respecting the experience and talents of general Lee; but, as if the expectation was either considered by himself as too sanguine, or the proposition unworthy of serious consideration, he added to this notice of the subject, that he should have submitted the proposition before to Congress, at the "particular request" of General Lee, had it not escaped his mind. Whether designedly or not, it is certain that the manner in which this application was thus mentioned by Washington, must have been conclusive evidence in the minds of Congress, that he did not approve the measure.

On the thirteenth, Lord Dunmore, with Lord Campbell and Sir Peter Parker, arrived off Staten Island. The former had, at length, abandoned all hopes of a restoration to the government of Virginia. He had continued along the rivers and coasts of that state, with the view of concentrating and promoting the spirit of loyalty, and when circumstances should justify of heading those who were dissatisfied with the American government, until the closeness and filth of the small vessles, into which the fugitives were crowded, the extreme heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, produced a fever, which proved fatal to numbers, particularly of the blacks.

At length, finding every place closed against his enterprizes, and that the necessities of his small fleet were to be supplied but by constant fighting, and being reduced to the necessity of burning a number of his smaller vessels, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans; and of sending the remainder, consisting of nearly fifty sail, to seek a shelter in Florida, the Burmudas and the West Indies, he had abandoned the design of effecting any thing in that quarter, as utterly hopeless. About one thousand negroes had been taken from the Virginias, in the course of his depredations, a great part of which miserably perished, and the remainder were sent to the West Indies and sold.

Orders of the day.—August 13th.—"The enemy's whole reinforcement is now arrived, so that an attack must and soon will be made. The general, therefore, again repeats his earnest request that every officer and soldier will keep his arms and ammunition in good order; keep within his quarters and encampment as much as possible; be ready for action at a moment's call—and when called to it, remember that liberty, property, life and honour, are all at stake, that upon their courage and conduct, rest the hope of their bleeding and insulted country, that their wives, children and parents, expect safety from them only, and that we have every reason to expect heaven will crown with success so just a cause. The enemy will endeavour to intimidate by show and appearance, but remember how they have been repulsed on various occasions, by a few brave Americans.

Their cause is bad, their men are conscious of it, and if opposed with firmness and coolness at their first onset, with our advantages of works and knowledge of

the ground, victory is most assuredly ours. Every good soldier will be silent and attentively wait for orders, and reserve his fire till he is sure of doing execution;—the officers to be particularly careful of this.

"The officers and commanding officers of regiments, are to see their supernumerary officers so posted as to keep their men to their duty, and it may not be amiss for the troops to know that if any infamous rascal in time of action, shall attempt to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy, without the orders of the commanding officer, he will be instantly shot down, as an example of cowardice; on the other hand, the general solemnly promises that he will reward those who shall distinguish themselves by brave and noble actions, and he desires every officer to be attentive to this particular, that such men may be afterwards suitably noticed."

This last precaution was the only one calculated to make heroes of his men. It is generally held that the fear of punishment operates more strongly on the minds than the hope of reward; and as a further reason why punishment and not reward should be the retribution administered for the deeds of men, it is argued that the utmost they can do is only their duty—and therefore, deserves no reward, and that to reward those who perform their duty would be impossible. It would soon exhaust the treasures of the world.—The first proposition is certainly true—as it is generally understood. Fear operates more strongly than hope, in restraining man from crime,—and in exciting him to do, mostly, his duty. But they who apply this reasoning to the soldier, know nothing of his attributes. To do only his duty, is to do nothing. Duty may teach him to sustain the shock of his adversary—to charge an enemy, with a regular and firm step—indeed to die. But

mere duty never won a great battle, or did a glorious deed. The Russian soldier does his duty—the Frenchman does more. One receives the bayonet in the heart without closing his eyes, or retreating a step; the other storms his enemy in his trenches, cuts a path through his steadiest battalions, and wrenches his banner from his grasp.

Death, which the subjects of civil government regard as the last punishment—he who is trained in the school of war, meets at every turn with a cheerful face and an unshaken tread. Death can have no terror for a soldier; but the applause of gallant men, the blessing of his country, distinction is the reward he covets—and that reward can never impoverish those who bestow—no treasury is exhausted by such expenditures. Distinction is as much the coin of republicks, as of monarchies, and should be lavished as bounteously.

It is highly probable that the fear of death may so operate on a coward, as to make him do his duty, or a part of his duty—enough of it to avoid the penalty, and that is all he will do. But there is a step infinitely beyond that ruling plan of the dastard, for a young and fiery soldier to reach—though he were in the ranks. And he can only be stimulated by the impulse of great hearts—the coin which is made for gallanty; he feels ambition, and distinction only can appease that restless spirit. Death has no terror for such men, they spring to meet it; shame cannot affect them, for they never survive it; distinction is what they covet. That is the immortality of the soldier. No man on earth was ever distinguished by doing his duty. To deserve distinction, then, something more than duty must be done. To excite men to great deeds, something more

than the reward of duty must be promised. This was done by Washington.

Were the great captains of any age to use more of their laurels and be less profuse with their means of humiliation, their armies would be terrible indeed. A band of ardent spirits—trained to war, and burning with ambition—would be invincible. Such were the soldiers of the French Revolution; and the veterans of Europe fled before them; banners that had floated for ages of victory and triumph, bowed before the approach of their new fledged eaglets. It is this lofty enthusiasm which renders an army irresistible. All the terrors of the military art, are regarded by the youthful soldier, who feels the eye of his country upon him—as never made for him but for others:—to him they are the emptiest pagentry. He knows that they will be prostrated in his march; that they will vanish or crumble at his approach. And such men can only be created by promises, not threatening, rewards, not punishment.

Though the superiour strength of the enemy was known to the whole army, yet the troops exhibited no symptoms of depression. During the 14th the British fleet were further augmented by the arrival of ninety six sail. The publick papers were removed from the city to a place of greater security—the troops were directed to keep three days provision constantly cooked; their canteens to be filled—and every disposition made for the reception of the enemy, who was expected at every tide.

Order of the 14th.—"The General flatters himself that every man's mind and arms are now prepared for the glorious contest upon which so much depends. The time is too precious; nor does the General think

it necessary to spend it in exhorting his brave countrymen and fellow soldiers to behave like men fighting for every thing that can be dear to freemen. We must resolve to conquer or die: with this resolution and the blessing of heaven, victory and success will certainly attend us. There will then be a glorious issue to this campaign, and the General will reward his brave soldiers with every indulgence in his power."

Under the same date he complains to Congress of an extreme deficiency in tents. A great part of the soldiers at the outposts had nothing to shelter them.

Something of the effect so long apprehended from the reduction of general officers now began to make its appearance. Colonel Varnum, of Rhode Island, waited on the Commander in Chief, and tendered his resignation. Washington remonstrated with him like a soldier. The Colonel was a brave man—and though he felt keenly the neglect of his country, he determined to fight her battles at this time, and wait till the crisis of her fate had passed before he gave up his commission. It was a noble determination. His example might have thrown the whole army into confusion.

On the 14th the Committee appointed for the purpose, produced a report on the propriety and practicability of seducing the foreigners from the British service, which was accepted and the following preamble and resolution adopted.

"Whereas it has been the wise policy of these states to extend the protection of their laws to all who should settle among them, of whatever nation or religion they [illegible] to admit them to a participation of the [illegible] and religious freedom, and

the benevolence of this practice, as well as its salutary effects, had rendered it worthy of being continued in future times."

"And whereas, His Britannic Majesty in order to destroy our freedom and happiness, has commenced against us a cruel and unprovoked war; and unable to engage Britons sufficient to execute his sanguinary measures, has applied for aid to foreign princes, who are in the habit of selling the blood of their people for money, and from thence has procured and transported considerable numbers of foreigners; and it is conceived that such foreigners if apprized of the practice of these states, would choose to accept of lands, liberty, safety and communion of good laws and mild government, in a country where many of their friends and relations are now happily settled, rather than continue exposed to the toils and perils of a long and bloody war, waged against a people guilty of no other crime than that of refusing to exchange freedom for slavery; and that they will do this, the more especially after they have violated every christian and moral precept, by invading and attempting to destroy those who never injured them or their country, their only reward, if they escape death and captivity, will be a return to the despotism of their prince, to be by him again sold, to do the drudgery of some other enemy to the rights of mankind.

"And whereas, the Parliament of Great Britain have thought fit, by a late act, not only to invite our troops to desert our service, but to dread a compulsion of our people, taken at sea, to serve against their country."

Resolved, therefore, That these states will receive all such followers who shall leave the armies of his Britannic Majesty in America, and shall choose to

become members of these states; and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions; and be invested with the rights, privileges and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of the states, and moreover, that the Congress will provide for every such person, fifty acres of unappropriated lands, in some of these states, to be held by him and his heirs in fee simple."

These propositions were renewed on the 26th of October of the same year. Grants of lands were offered to such foreigners in the following proportion. To a Colonel, one thousand acres; a Lieutenant Colonel, eight hundred; Major, six hundred; Captain, four hundred; Lieutenant, three hundred; noncommissioned and others, one hundred, and further reward, proportioned to the number that each should bring with him.

The extreme simplicity of the inferiour officers and their ignorance on subjects, of a nature, to be the most easily learnt, cannot be better shown, than by an extract from one of the daily orders. "Lieutenant Holcock being tried for assuming the rank of a captain, wearing a yellow cockade, and mounting guard in that capacity, it appearing to have been done through misconception, and want of experience—the court are of opinion, that he should be cautioned by his Colonel to make himself acquainted with his duty.

This was a mild sentence for such an offence; but what must have been the state of an army, where an officer, from "want of experience" not only assumed the duties of his superiour, but actually mounted his badge of superiority!

The weather had been for some days, so rainy and unfavourable, that the expected attack had been de-

layed. The enemy had been completely prepared, even to the embarkation of their troops, for several days. The Americans, therefore, were constantly on the alert. On the sixteenth, Washington wrote that the troops were very sickly.

To the 17th of August, when every thing was at stake on the vigilance of the Americans; and notwithstanding the necessity of examples for the reformation of the army, whipping continues to be so common a punishment for every offence, that, on that day, it was even inflicted on a centinel for having slept upon his post.

On the 18th, the officers and men who had been employed a day or two before in an attempt to destroy the enemy's ships up the North River, were handsomely complimented: and a pecuniary reward was distributed among them in proportion to their desert.

The circumstances were these. Two fine ships under Captains Fosdick and Thomas, on the night of the sixteenth of August, which was uncommonly dark, ran up the North River, with the intention of burning the enemy's ships and tenders. They past the Phœnix. Captain Thomas, at length fell on board one of the tenders and set fire to her; this light enabled captain Fosdick to grapple the Phœnix. A desperate struggle ensued, but the sides of the ship of war were so high, her sailors so active, that she soon cleared herself—and sunk the fire ship.

It seems by the following extract from a letter of the eighteenth, that Lord Howe had made some further attempts to tell his enemy by negociation; but his designs—however intricate—were easily perceived by his adversary: not, perhaps, with absolute certainty—but so as to provide against them.

"I am exceedingly at a loss," says Washington, "to know the motives and causes in doing a proceeding of such a nature at this time, and why Lord Howe has not attempted some plan of negociation before, as he seemed so desirous of it. If I may be allowed to conjecture, and guess at the cause, it may be, that part of the Hessians have not arrived, as mentioned in the examination transmitted yesterday; or that General Burgoyne has not made such progress as was expected to form a junction of their two armies, or, what I think equally probable, they mean to procrastinate their operations for some time, trusting that the militia who have come to our succour, will soon become tired and return home, as is but too usual with them."

On the 19th, Washington received a letter from Governour Trumbull, of Connecticut, upon whom he had placed the greatest reliance, which must have been doubly gratifying, from the disappointments he had met with from other quarters. He was informed that a regiment from Massachusetts was on its march; and that the council of safety for Connecticut, had ordered fourteen militia regiments, to his head quarters. These were important—yet when three of them had arrived, they only amounted to one thousand and twenty-nine. "When the whole come in" said Washington, "we shall be on a much more respectable footing than we have been; but I greatly fear if the enemy defer their attempts for any considerable time, they will be extremely impatient to return home, and if they should, we shall be reduced to distress again."

The Indians had already excited the attention of Congress. Repeated attempts had been made, without success, to bind them to neutrality. A number of chiefs about this time visited Philadelphia, were ad-

mitted to Congress, and an address was made to them. The following speech, made by Logan, is extracted from the Journals of Congress.

"We still hear bad news. Commodico and some of us are constantly threatened. And the Bearskin, (a trader from Pennsylvania) among others, says a great reward is offered to any person who will take or entice any of us to Pittsburg, where we are to be hanged up like dogs, by the big knife, (the Virginians.) This being true, how can we think of what is good? That it is true, we have no doubt, and you may depend on it, that the Bearskin told Metapsico every word of what I have mentioned."

A copy of this was transmitted to certain agents of the Congress, who were at that time busy in counteracting the influence of a number of traders, who, to obtain a monopoly of furs, were willing to see the scalps of women and children, freshly torn from the victims of their dreadful cupidity, and suspended in the same hut with the skins of the beaver and deer.

The head men of the Creeks were invited to visit Philadelphia, whither a number of western warriors had once been, who returned with a high opinion of the power and greatness of the whites. It was hoped that a renewal of the visit, would tend to calm their animosity, or at least alarm them for their safety, and prevent any wanton outrage on the southern inhabitants.

About this time, intelligence was brought that Governour Carleton, had issued a declaration, which was distributed through the frontiers with the greatest industry, interdicting all intercourse between his army and the Americans, "except such as might be for imploring the king's mercy, &c." This declaration con-

tained the particulars of General Gordon's assassination, which has already been related: but so artfully expressed as to awaken a belief that it had been done merely for the purpose of pillage by an obscure individual. At the same time, by the removal of the American prisoners to the interior of the British possessions, the exchange of prisoners, a subject of much anxiety with the Americans, was prevented for a time.

It will be recollected that the command of the works on Long Island, had been given to General Green.—This officer, whose indefatigable and restless spirit, led him to endure a greater degree of toil and exposure, than prudence would justify, became at length so seriously ill, that he was compelled to relinquish the command. He was succeeded by General Sullivan. It was a critical moment, and the danger of exchanging an officer, at all times, on the eve of a battle, was rendered in this case more dangerous, from the character of the two generals. The former was extremely cautious—ever on the watch—and never losing his self command; the latter was a brave and excellent officer, but rather too adventurous, and too confident, for the command of such a post, where every thing depended upon defence. One would have succeeded best in attacking, and the other in sustaining an attack.

By the examination of an American Captain who had been captured by the enemy and released, Washington was informed, that the plan of attack was a subject of general discussion in the British camp. To this he would have paid no regard, because it was not to be supposed that Sir William Howe would communicate his designs to his whole army, but the plan,

which was to land a division above the city, and cut off the retreat of the Americans, in that direction, while the principal force was to make a sudden movement against Long Island, so nearly corresponded with his view of the enemy's designs, as to strengthen his confidence that such an attempt would be made. Other circumstances contributed to establish this opinion. On the twenty-first, several of the enemy's ships, crowded with men, dropped down to the narrows. On the twenty-second, they were followed by others, and boats were seen constantly rowing about them with troops.

During the expectations, which such movements were calculated to excite, a small detachment was ordered to march. They had no provisions. Order after order had been issued, every thing, short of cooking the provisions, and filling their canteens, with his own hands, had been repeated again and again, for whole weeks—and yet, at such a moment as this, not a man was provided. Such vexations would have discouraged any man but Washington. But he was undisturbed.

On the twenty-third, the battle appeared at hand. The orders were admirably calculated to awaken a martial spirit in the troops. The parole was Charleston, and the countersign Lee. "The enemy have now landed on Long Island," says Washington, "and the hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty—that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit your-

selves like men. Remember how your courage and spirit have been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders; though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charleston and other places, what a few brave men contending on their own land and the best of causes can do against these hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool—but determined. Do not fire at a distance; but wait for orders from your officers. It is the general's express orders, that if any man attempts to lie down, skulk, or retreat, without orders, he be instantly shot, as an example—he hopes no such scoundrel will be found in this army:—but, on the contrary, every one for himself, resolving to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles of heaven upon so just a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution. Those who are distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct, may depend upon being honourably noticed, and suitably rewarded. And if this army will but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, he has no doubt they will, by a glorious victory, save their country and acquire to themselves immortal honour."

In a letter of the same date, he says, "I beg leave to inform Congress, that yesterday morning, and in the course of the preceding night, a considerable body of the enemy, amounting by report, to eight or nine thousand, and these all British, landed in the transport ships mentioned in my last, at Gravesend Bay, on Long Island, and have approached within three miles of our lines, having marched across the low, cleared grounds near the woods at Flatbush, where they are halted, from last intelligence."

"I have detached from here, six battalions, as a reinforcement of our troops there, which are all that I

can spare at this time, not knowing but the fleet may move up with the remainder of their army, and make an attack here, on the next flood tide. If they do not, I shall send a further reinforcement, should it be necessary, and have ordered five battalions more to be in readiness for that purpose."

"The reinforcement detached yesterday, went off in high spirits; and I have the pleasure to inform you that the whole of the army, that are effective and capable of duty discover the same, and great cheerfulness."

The passage of the East River, at this time, was so obstructed by booms, chains and chevaux-de-frize, as to quiet in a great manner all apprehensions on that side.

On the 24th, Washington detached four additional regiments, to the support of General Sullivan, with boats, to be ready either to reinforce him, or to return to New-York, if the remainder of the fleet, then at the watering place, should menace the city.

Reinforcements were constantly passing to Long Island, and occasionally a little skirmishing took place between small parties: in the course of which, Colonel Manning of the Jersey Levies, received a mortal wound, some few men were lost. Nine out of the fourteen regiments expected from Connecticut, had now arrived; averaging about three hundred and fifty men each, and making the entire force of Washington about twenty thousand, but of these, a large proportion was in the hospitals, and on furlough.

Among other transactions of interest at the time, was a sharp correspondence between General Washington and Lord Drummond, respecting an alleged violation of his parole, which was laid before Con-

gress. Washington thought his excuses were far from being satisfactory. It seems he was to hold no intercourse with the enemy on the event—and at this time, he was on board their fleet. Lord Drummond had to explain himself to one who was not to be appeased in a question of this kind, by mere ingenuity. No common reasons would have satisfied the Americans for this violation of his parole, had his Lordship fallen again into their hands.

The hour of trial had at length arrived. The battle was fought and the enemy were victorious.

The total amount of the American army at the time of the action, was about twenty thousand. But of these, the effectives did not exceed sixteen thousand five hundred.

The operations of the enemy had been delayed from day to day, in expectation of reinforcements, until the twenty-second, when by the accession of the South Carolina troops, with others from Boston, Florida and the West Indies, amounted to nearly thirty thousand—with these it was determined to make an attempt. On this day, the twenty-second, the fleet being so stationed as to cover the troops, they were landed without opposition, on Long Island, between Utrecht and Gravesend, two small villages, not far from the narrows, on the side nearest to Staten Island.

The American works, constructed under the superintendance of General Green, extended across a narrow peninsula, having the East River, which separates Long Island from New-York on the left; a marsh running to the shore, on the right; with the Bay and Governor's Island in the rear.

General Sullivan was encamped, with a strong force, at Brooklyn, within these works, and a few miles from Utrecht. From the eastern side of the narrows, extends a ridge of hills, for about six miles, covered with a thick wood, and terminating near Jamaica. Through these hills are only three passes; one near the narrows; a second on the Flatbush road; and a third, called the Bedford road, running across from Bedford to Flatbush, which lies on the southern side of the ridge. These passes are very narrow—the sides exceedingly steep and rugged—so as to be maintained by a small number against any force whatever, until dislodged from the heights. Those were the only roads which led from the southern side of the hills, to the American lines, except one, passing round the eastern extremity of the ridge to Jamaica.

An early attention had been paid to the three passes through the hills, and a body of eight hundred men were stationed for the protection of each of them; while Colonel Miles, with a battallion of riflemen, was placed a little to the eastward in the wood, to guard the last mentioned road, running from the southern side of the hills to Jamaica, to watch the operations of the enemy and keep up a constant communication with the other corps stationed at the passes. On the approach of the enemy's boats, the patrolling parties on the coast had retired to the guard at the second pass on the Flatbush road. Lord Cornwallis followed at their heels with his reserve and some hastily collected troops, in the hope of securing the pass, but finding it already occupied by the Americans, in obedience to his orders, made no attempt to dislodge them.

Three days afterwards, on the twenty-fifth, these forces of the British were reinforced by General De

Heister, and two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island. It is said that this intrepid officer, who knew nothing of the enemy against whom he was about to advance, was told by one high in command, "that the Americans had determined to give the foreigners no quarter." "Very well," said De Heister, with the utmost composure, "as I know the terms, I am ready to fight." But whether this be true or not, and it is rendered somewhat improbable by the indefinite manner in which "one high in command," without a name, is mentioned; it is certain that the foreign troops were taught that they were to fight with savages, who would torture before a slow fire, with every species of cruelty that could be imagined. It is no longer material whether these fancies originated at home with themselves, by confounding the Indian with the American character, or whether they were industriously planted by the British during their intercourse; enough is known of the nature of all soldiers, to suppose that no great efforts would have been made by those of Britain, to counteract prejudices, from which many advantages might be hoped.

The consequence of such mistaken notions, was, as might be expected, a desperate ferocity in battle—no mercy—no giving or taking quarter; and so far they may have contributed to the success of the day. It has since been said that these terrours were caused entirely by the British officers, and publickly justified, afterwards, as a retaliation for the measures pursued by Congress to seduce the foreigners from their service. But such an excuse comes too late for the offence, if it were an offence; for it is not to be supposed, that, during the long intercourse of the British troops with the first division of the Hessians which arrived some time

before this purpose of Congress became known, nothing was told the former of the American character. Some information must have been given them, either true or false: if true, it would have been too late to change their whole belief after this measure of Congress was taken; because the time was too short, and the design would naturally have been suspected. That is, if the British before this had instructed the Germans in the true character of the Americans, it would have been too late, just as they were going into battle, and the Americans had publickly offered them rewards to abandon the British,—for the British to have convinced them that the Americans were savages. The information thus communicated to them before the attempt of the Americans to seduce them, was probably such as enmity, ignorance, and contempt, under all the exaggerations with which loyal troops might be supposed to misrepresent the character of rebels. Charity would have been treason—truth, disloyalty—and they who were about to cut the throats of Americans to prove their faith and allegiance would not have been over scrupulous about murdering their reputations.

Another circumstance which undoubtedly contributed to the slaughter of the day, and the victory of the British, was this: a defeat would have been destruction to them—pressed by a victorious enemy, they might have been prevented from re-embarking—and perhaps cut to pieces or made prisoners before they could receive reinforcements. They were obliged to conquer. This may be seen by a reference to what has been said of Washington—he certainly was placed in a perilous situation, and was supposed to have risked too much: but he risked much less than Sir William

Howe, for he was within his entrenchments—And Sir William had no other defence than his covering parties to secure a retreat; and no rallying point.

On the 26th, General Howe having fully matured a plan for the surprise of General Sullivan, directed General De Heister to take post at Flatbush in the evening. This division composed the centre. About nine o'clock in the evening, the main body led by General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, formed of the best troops in the army, attempted to gain the road, leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, with a view of turning the American left. On this road Colonel Miles was stationed, but by some unfortunate chance, the enemy was not discovered until they had gained two miles in his rear, when the alarm was instantly given.

Just before day light, on the 27th, Sir Henry Clinton, having advanced within half a mile of the road, halted his forces and made his dispositions for an immediate attack. Every thing conspired to favour his enterprize—One of his parties fell in with a patrole of mounted American officers, and took every man of them prisoners; and General Sullivan, depending on them for intelligence, neglected sending out another patrole. He was thus left in complete ignorance of the enemy's approach.

At the first appearance of light, General Clinton with a battalion of light infantry, took possession of the heights which commanded the road. Some hours before, about midnight, his left wing under General Grant, which had been advanced to alarm the Americans and conceal his own designs on their left, had been discovered by the guard. This guard, composed entirely of New York and Pennsylvania troops, in-

stantly abandoned the road and fled in the utmost consternation without firing a gun, and carried to General Parsons the first intelligence of the enemy, who was seen at the same moment descending the northern side of the hill. About twenty of the fugitives were fortunately rallied, and posted on a height about a mile in front of General Grant, who halted, and formed his columns for the attack. This gave time to Lord Stirling, with fifteen hundred men, to get possession of a hill about two miles from the American camp and in front of General Grant.

The engagement began soon after day light, by the Hessians, under General De Heister, from Flatbush, and by General Grant along the coast, and was supported by the Americans, with great resolution for a considerable time. Those who were first met by General De Heister, fought with determined gallantry until they found General Clinton had gained their left, when they immediately broke and fled towards their camp. It was already too late; General Clinton was in their rear with the whole of the British right. He had passed the heights, halted and refreshed his army, and now charged the Americans with his dragoons and infantry, just as they had abandoned the hills and were flying to their lines. His attack was irresistible; they were forced back upon the Hessians—the Hessians followed up their charge—And thus were the Americans hemmed in on all sides; driven alternately from the British to the Hessians, from the Hessians to the British: until grown desperate, they suddenly concentrated—charged the enemy in turn, and cut their way to their own camp.

The troops under Lord Sterling, composed of Colonel Atlee's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel

Hatche's regiments, with two battalions under Colonel Miles were engaged for six hours with the whole British left, under General Grant. Their coolness and firmness would have done honour to veterans—But so unhappily deficient were these fine troops in the means of intelligence, that they were only apprized of the movements of General Clinton by his approach, having traversed the whole country in their rear. Their retreat being thus intercepted, a desperate effort was the only chance of escape; and a large proportion after breaking through the enemy's ranks, gained the woods. Many threw themselves into the marsh in Gowan's Cove; some were drowned—and others perished in the woods, but a considerable number eventually reached their entrenchments.

The Royal troops fought the whole day in a manner worthy of themselves. The memory of defeats, and a desire of retrieving their reputation, stimulated them to their utmost efforts. The nature of the ground broke up both parties into detachments, and of course gave a greater opportunity for distinction. So full of ardour and impetuosity were they after their victory that they could hardly be withheld from storming the American lines. Sir William Howe has not escaped censure for having restrained them—but if he had not, it is probable that he would have deserved and received more of it.

Washington had expected and provided for this impetuosity. An assault was precisely what he wished—and if it had been made, had not the assailants been instantly successful, they would have been certainly repulsed in the event. The entrenchments were manned with fresh troops: the British were exhausted with marching, and fighting; and whatever might have

been their spirits, if they had not prevailed at the first onset—they would not have prevailed at all: their enemy would have repulsed them—pursued them in their disorder with his fresh troops—and administered a terrible retribution for the first slaughters of the day.

This is rendered more than probable from the cautious character of the American commander. He knew the strength of his works, and was not only willing to risk an assault, but invited it. Had it been made, the enemy might have had little to boast of; and General Howe might justly have been blamed for hazarding, with worn out troops, in such a strife, the loss of all the important advantages he had gained.

It is said that the works were very feeble, that they had been hastily completed but the night before, by closing an entrance on the right and throwing an abbatis along the front: yet it is not to be supposed that any important means of security would have been neglected to so late an hour. The enemy had been expected for several days, and the lines had been manned for their reception.

That the result of the struggle on Long Island, would probably have been very different had the British troops followed up their victory, by an assault on the lines, may be presumed from other circumstances. Raw troops are easily terrified by manœuvres in the field. They feel a sense of protection, not only against manœuvres, but against balls and bayonets, in any kind of breast work, however frail. There was not a man in the American army who could not relate the particulars of the skirmish at Lexington, Bunker Hill, and Fort Moultrie; and not a man but would have attributed the success of their countrymen to the stone wall and embankments of the two for-

mer, as soon as to the fortifications of the latter. Behind any breast work, a board fence, they would have fought better than in the open field.

The victorious army encamped in front of the American works, on the evening after the battle; and on the twenty eighth, broke ground in form about five hundred yards in front of Putnam's redoubt, which covered the American left. A regular seige was begun. The remembrance of Breed's Hill, and a desire to spare his men, probably prevented a coup de main, which, should it prove successful, Sir William Howe apprehended, might disqualify him for more important undertakings.

On the same day, General Mifflin reinforced the Americans, with one thousand fresh troops, and offered to go the rounds at night. He observed the enemy's approaches and the forwardness of their batteries, and was convinced that no time was to be lost. The next morning, Aug. 29th, in a conversation with the commander in chief on the subject, he observed—"you must either fight or retreat, immediately. What is your strength? "nine thousand" was the reply. "It is not sufficient—we must retreat" said the former. Such had been Washington's opinion. He never designed to sustain the regular approach of his enemy;—his works were only calculated for temporary defence. It was then agreed that a council of war should be called—that General Mifflin should propose the retreat; but as he was to make the proposal, and his reputation was at stake, he stipulated that if a retreat should be resolved upon, he should command the rear;—and if an action, the van.

These measures, among others, were urged in council. "The heavy rains which have fallen for two

days and nights, with but little intermission, have injured the arms, and spoiled a great part of the ammunition, and the soldiers being without cover, and obliged to lie in their lines, are worn out. From the time the enemy moved from Flatbush, several large ships have attempted to get up, as supposed, into the East River, to cut off our communication, by which the whole army would be destroyed; but the wind being North East, they have not been able to effect it. The troops have become dispirited by their incessant duty and watchfulness." It was unanimously resolv- to abandon the Island.

Colonel Glover, with his regiment, was ordered to take command of the flat bottomed boats and other vessels, to superintend the embarkation. Gen. M'Dougal and Colonel Knox, were stationed at the upper and lower ferries on the East River. The former was on the ground at eight o'clock; but the militia had not then embarked. Many difficulties occurred, which would at any time, have been thought remarkable; but at that time they were thought to proceed from little else than the special interposition of that Providence which had suffered then to be so cruelly defeated.

While the troops were assembling on the shore, the tide began to ebb; the wind blew strong from the North West and the rapidity of the current, made it appear impossible to effect the retreat, in the course of the night; as they had but few row boats, and the sail boats could not be used. Under this distressing embarrassment, General M'Dougall sent Colonel Grayson, one of Washington's Aids, to get instructions from his Excellency—at the same time, pronouncing the retreat to be impracticable for that night. The

Colonel was unable to find the General, and immediately on his return, the embarkation was commenced under all those discouragements. But about eleven, the wind died away, and soon after a fresh breeze sprung up from the South West; enabled them to use the sailboats, and made their retreat safe, easy and expeditious. The embarkation was still further protected by a fog, (so uncommon for the season, that one of the citizens of New-York declared he had not known one for twenty or thirty years,) which came in a remarkably thick mist, about two in the morning, and hovered like a cloud over Long Island shore, while the New-York side was bright and clear.

Another incident, but of a different character, which, with a disastrous result might have been cited as an evidence of the immediate agency of some malignant being, is well worth recording. Colonel Scammel was sent to General Mifflin, who remained in the trenches, with orders for a particular regiment to march to the ferry. The Colonel mistook the order; understood instead of a regiment, the whole covering party, and so delivered it. It was obeyed—and the lines were abandoned for three quarters of an hour before the embarkation was completed; but the British, though so near, that their working parties were distinctly heard, were enveloped in so thick a fog, that the evacuation took place without being discovered.

The mistake was discovered—General Mifflin hurried back to the lines—took possession, and held until the next morning, when every thing except some heavy cannon was removed. The fog and wind continued propitious till the whole army, amounting to nine thousand, with all their field artillery—such heavy ordinance as was most valuable—ammunition—

provisions and stores, were safely brought off the island. All this was effected over a river, more than a mile in width, in thirteen hours, most of the time in a violent rain, without the knowledge of the enemy, who were at work within six hundred yards.

The water was so remarkably smooth as to admit of the boats being loaded within a few inches of their gunwales. The commander in chief, though repeatedly and earnestly entreated, would not leave the Island, till General Mifflin, with his covering party left the lines, about six in the morning. Scarcely were the works abandoned, and the rear guard fairly embarked, when the fog cleared away, and four of the American boats were discovered on the river; three about half way over, full of troops; and the fourth, in which were a few person, who had staid for plunder, so near the shore that it was captured, and the enemy were seen to take possession of the works.

Had the wind continued from the northwest, whence it blew, when the embarkation was begun, not more than one half of the troops could have been passed over, and the remainder must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy; and had not the fog appeared so seasonably—or had it cleared away but a short time before it did, the American rear would have been in a most perilous situation.

In superintending this hazardous and difficult evacuation, and the transactions of several days preceding it, Washington was indefatigable.

Governor's Island, where two regiments were stationed, was also abandoned at the same time, without loss. The removal of the military stores was completed on the second of September, when nothing was

left except a few heavy cannon, notwithstanding several ships of war lay within a quarter of a mile.

As the conduct of Washington on this occasion, has sometimes been censured, it would be well to place the facts together before the mind, and from them thus assembled, to determine whether such censure was merited. To do this, it will be necessary, first, to inquire if Long Island ought to have been defended;—next if the defence was properly conducted, if the works, officers, troops were competent for the purpose, and finally, whether the issue of the battle could have been provided against, after it was foreseen.

The possession of Long Island was certainly an object of importance, or General Howe would not have wasted an hour upon the attempt to obtain it. He could have brought the Americans to battle, if that were his object, at other points.

He would have made his attack upon New-York. It was certainly of importance, because the possession of New-York was dependent upon it. If it was of importance to the enemy, it ought to have been defended. It will be recollected, that while Washington prepared to dispute the possession of this Island, he was led from many other circumstances, to expect a system of operations from the enemy entirely of a different character. He had constantly expected an attempt to get above him and cut off his communication with the country. He had provided against this so far as it was practicable; and as such an attempt must have compelled him to an unequal battle, the evacuation of New-York with the loss of all his military stores, or a surrender—it was necessarily a subject of extreme precaution and anxiety with him. And when he found the enemy had so far departed

him from this scheme, which he most feared, as to make it subordinate to an attempt on Long Island—dangerous as it was to defend that Island, with no shipping, and against a powerful fleet; yet was it less dangerous by far, than his situation would have been, had the enemy pursued the other plan. In the first, he must attack the enemy; in this, the enemy must attack him. In the former, he would fight under the greatest disadvantages, risking every thing if defeated; in this the enemy would run the greatest risk, and be ruined if he failed. If Washington wanted to bring Lord Howe to battle, Long Island was the ground for it.

If he did not, if he wished to avoid a battle, Washington should have withdrawn his troops from the Island and evacuated the city, without losing an hour, at the first approach of the enemy—but a battle was to be fought, it could not be avoided, and the only question was when and where it should be fought. To fight it on an Island was certainly dangerous, but New-York was also an Island, and if he did not fight on Long Island, he must in New-York. It was but a choice of dangers and difficulties. In either case his way was liable to be entirely surrounded by ships and troops.

These questions would finally resolve themselves to this proposition. Either Long Island would be defended, or New-York evacuated. To do the former it is only necessary to erect a chain of slight works, capable of withstanding an assault; throw into them a sufficient number of troops to defend them; give the command to an active, cautious and intelligent officer, and fight such a kind of battle as will give the troops some confidence in themselves, and teach them to stand

fire, without exposing them to any great loss, while the enemy should gain nothing by a victory.

All this was done, and the result would have been still less decisive than it was to the British arms, but for certain incidents which were not to be foreseen. The lines were constructed of sufficient strength—but the troops were beaten by surprise before they could reach them. They who had been prepared for a battle from which they could retreat at pleasure, to their entrenchments, found an enemy suddenly thrown in their rear—were compelled to a field fight, and after supporting the battle with great gallantry, were only beaten by manœuvres. At the critical moment, when every thing depended upon him, the officer appointed to command was taken sick, and another, equally brave, but not so well acquainted with the strength of the place or the disposition of his men, and withal, rather incautious, was called to the command. If General Greene had remained in command, the Americans would not have been surprised; and then, if the British army had made their attack upon the forces fully prepared to meet them, with their works in their rear to which they could retreat at their leisure, though the enemy had found them and stormed them in their trenches, the American loss would probably not have been so great as it was.

The next question is, were there troops enough employed for the defence. There certainly were ten thousand troops, according to the smallest estimate that can be made—the strength and flower of the army were at one time on the island. The troops were well posted and the battle was well fought.

Washington was a spectator of the slaughter that succeeded; but it was then too late to prevent it—his

lines were manned, every bayonet was in requisition to turn back the disasters of the field, upon the enemy if he should have the temerity to assault the works. This was the only way in which it was possible to support the troops engaged—every moment the attempt might be made on his lines, and not a man could be spared. Had he abandoned them and reinforced the troops engaged, the fate of his country would have been at stake on a single engagement.

But let it be supposed that Washington had adopted the other alternative, and abandoned Long Island without a single effort to preserve it. Would not an evacuation of the city have been a legitimate and immediate consequence? A bombardment would have been opened from the shore, the passage of East River cleared of its obstruction, the whole fleet moored in front and rear of the city, and the Americans subjected to an attack wherever the enemy pleased, unless they marched out immediately.

An evacuation of New York without a battle, following the abandonment of Long Island, without a battle, would have been attended with more calamitous consequences to the American cause, than the bloodiest defeat. Now, the enemy had been met, and fought—a few lives were lost, and there might be a general panick among the troops. But what was the loss of a few troops—and the confidence of a few disheartened militia, to the loss and confidence of the whole American people? They had been defeated, it is true, but the enemy had gained nothing. It is sometimes better to be beaten in battle, than to fly without fighting. By a series of misfortunes, against which no human wisdom could have provided, the Americans had been defeated by a superiour force; but depres-

sing as such a disaster was to the spirits of the people, it was infinitely less so, than a retreat would have been, pursued by an active enemy, leaving the whole country behind him, and a whole season for his operations to be effected in, without one effort to arrest his course. By this contention for Long Island, though the enemy had succeeded, it was of no advantage to him—the season had nearly passed away and the campaign was soon to be terminated.

The loss of the British and Hessians, in this battle, has been variously stated. Once it has been estimated at four hundred and fifty; but a more particular account states the exact loss of the British at three hundred and eighteen, of whom only sixty-one were slain, and of the Hessians at three hundred killed, and twenty-six wounded. Total three hundred and forty-seven.

The American loss was much greater. Hemmed in on all sides, broken and in disorder, sustaining an uninterrupted fire and continual charges from both parties for a considerable time, and finally escaping through a morass and a creek, the estimate of one thousand will be regarded as much within the truth. It probably amounted to fifteen hundred killed, wounded and prisoners.

Many large bodies escaped by flight at the first onset, that might have been captured, had they offered more resistance. General Sullivan, Lord Stirling, three Colonels, four Lieutenant Colonels, three Majors, eighteen Captains, forty-three Lieutenants, eleven Ensigns, together with ten hundred and eleven privates and non-commissioned officers, are reported as the exact amount of prisoners taken, including the wounded. Six pieces of brass ordnance were

taken. One regiment, Colonel Smallwood's, from Maryland, was almost cut to pieces. They were all young men, and of the best families in the country.—Their conduct was sufficient to show what Americans could do in battle, with officers in whom they could trust. It was the manœuvering of the enemy that conquered the Americans. They had withstood the bayonet, but they were gallantly contending in front, a new enemy approaching in silence, unexpectedly attacked in their rear. To raw and unexperienced troops such operations are always terrible, as they know they are irretrieveably lost if one false step is made. For a long time after, the terrours of this day were rememberd, and the appearance of any manœuvre in the enemy was the signal for a retreat to the Americans.

Thus terminated the first great struggle after the Declaration of Independence, and if every thing be considered, the disproportionate strength, experience, and state of the combatants, it must be allowed that it terminated favourably for the Americans.

CHAPTER XV.

Effect of the Defeat on Long Island—State of the Army—Negotiation with Lord Howe—Preparations of the Enemy for cutting off the communication between the main army and the Eastern States—Shameful flight at Kipp's Bay—Evacuation of New-York—Reflections—Arrangement of Congress for a rigorous prosecution of the War—Spirited conduct of the troops who had lately fled at the approach of an Enemy—Retreat to the White Plains—Loss of Fort Washington—Evacuation of Fort Lee—Melancholy prospect of the Americans—Reflections.

The effect produced on the minds of the militia by their recent defeat on Long Island, may be seen by the following extracts from letters written by officers, high in command, among the Americans. General Mercer, who commanded the flying camp, wrote thus on the subject: "General Washington has not, so far as I have seen, five thousand men to be depended upon for the service of a campaign, and I have not one thousand. Both our armies are composed of new militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms. These are not a match for, were their numbers equal, veteran troops, well fitted and urged on by able officers. Numbers and discipline must prevail at last. Giving soldiers, or even the lower orders of mankind, the choice of officers, will forever mar the discipline of armies."

General Mercer was right. That "choice of officers" entrusted to the common soldier, was, of itself, enough to destroy all subordination. The officers became dependent upon their men; and they who would concede most, be most familiar, and least rigorous,

were always sure of preference. Few men will voluntarily elect masters. And no officer can be useful, unless he is master of his soldiers.

Washington began soon after his return to New York, to entertain very serious apprehensions about his ability to keep possession of that city. "Till of late," he says, "I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place; nor should I have yet, if the men would do their duty, but this I despair of."

Another question of an alarming nature to the inhabitants of New York was even worse. "If we should be obliged to abandon the town," says Washington, in another of his despatches, "ought it to stand as winter quarters for the enemy? They would derive good conveniencies from it on the one hand; and much property would be destroyed on the other. But it will admit of but little time for deliberation. At present, I dare say the enemy mean to possess it, if they can. If Congress, therefore, should resolve upon the destruction of it, the resolution should be a profound secret, as the knowledge of it will make a capital change in their plans."

The situation of the American General must have been desperate indeed, to have authorized such a thought for a single moment. He lived in an age when mankind had not learnt to make a sacrifice of their cities to protect them from the unhallowed tread of the invader. But whatever may now be thought of such a design, it is probable that it did not occur to Washington till the question was not whether the cities of his country should be the sanctuaries and refuge of his enemy, or himself; but, whether that was the only method of saving the country. If the former, however heroick the deed had been held, however sublime

the spectacle of such a conflagration might have been regarded, by the world, he never would have sanctioned it. But had the last question been to be decided—his own hand would have placed the fire on her altars and wrapped her dwellings and her temples in flames. This would have been an offering worthy of Liberty—worthy of Washington. To ambition the sacrifice would not have been rash: to Independence it would have been so.

It has been already related that General Sullivan and Lord Sterling were among the prisoners taken by the enemy. The former was paroled, but the latter was not. General Washington complains that his Lordship's account of the battle was not sufficiently minute, and attributes it to some occurrence which interrupted him, as the letter was unfinished. It is not unlikely that he was still considered as a British subject, and consequently a greater degree of rigour would be discovered in his treatment.

General Sullivan was entrusted by Lord Howe, and his brother, Sir William, with a verbal message to Congress, to this effect—that his Lordship could not treat with them in that character then; that he was extremely anxious to come to some accommodation speedily, while, as yet, no decisive advantage had been gained by either party, and it could not be said that either had been conquered into acquiescence or submission; that he would hold a conference with any of their members as private gentlemen; that he was, with the General, fully authorized to settle all differences in an honourable manner; that, were they to treat, many things which the Americans had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted; and if upon a conference there appeared any probable ground

of accommodation, the authority of Congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete.

This message was delivered to Congress, by General Sullivan on the 2d of September. He was desired to reduce it to writing; at the same time that a letter was received from Washington confirming his previous account of the disasters on Long Island, and retreat therefrom. Yet Congress was immoveable. On the 5th, General Sullivan was directed to inform Lord Howe, "That Congress, being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his Lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing a peace on reasonable terms, they will send a Committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress, for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same."

On the following day, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were elected a Committee for this purpose. This was doing all that Congress could do. The proposition of Lord Howe could not be passed over without notice, for in the insidious shape in which it appeared, immediately after a victory, it must have been regarded as highly pacific and magnanimous. And thus it was regarded by the army, the Royal party in America, and many others who could not penetrate the design. It may therefore be doubted, though Congress had been ever so well convinced that no advantage could result from such trifling, if they would have been justifiable in ut-

terly rejecting the proposal. They were compelled by their situation to play the same game with their adversary—delay would be as ruinous to him as to them; and by their acceptance of his proposition, they disappointed him of his only hope, which was that they would refuse it; and such a refusal would have given him great advantages, thrown the whole guilt of the war upon them, and given to their councils a character of ambition, which might have kindled the most dangerous suspicions in the minds of their Republican constituents.

But magnanimity was not then the attribute of British negociators. The character of the nation had degenerated. They were no longer the great men, whose forbearance was most conspicuous after victory. They were the soldiers of a ministry, rather than the ambassadors of a nation; of a party with whom all measures were justifiable—if a proper result were obtained. They would trample on the Colonies, because of their premature manhood, and if this could not be done by open warfare, it might be effected by political intrigue. If they could not, by breaking a lance with the youthful champion, bring him to their feet, there were other measures: they might lull him into security by enticement. The offer of conciliation was to be tendred—if it succeeded, the omnipotence of Parliament would soon have little to fear from the young spirit of the Americans; armies, taxes, proscriptions, would soon have thinned their ranks, annihilated their predominant characters, driven asunder their confederacy, and bound them in fetters that a century might not have loosened; if it was rejected, then might their retribution be measured out according to their own views of the punishment due to rebellion; the whole country

might be laid waste by fire and sword; the standards of freedom be rent and scattered to the four winds of heaven—every spark of chivalry extinguished—and every hopeful plant of tyranny, nourished in blood and tears would have been seen springing upon the nameless graves of martyrs; upon the spot whence a tempest had uprooted the young tree of liberty, even while its branches were spreading over a continent, and pushing their greenness to the heavens: on a soil, which if it bore not a new generation of such hardy plants, should be cursed with everlasting barrenness. And all this would have been handed down in their histories as the work of the Americans, and not of their oppressors; they who had magnanimously extended the olive to a people that spurned it in their madness and presumption.

Such was the purpose of this offer of negociation. As such it was regarded at the time by all who understood the true character of their adversary; as such it was to be provided against by the guardians of America: and as such Congress were induced to depart from that sublime maxim of the Roman, never to negociate after a defeat. They strove for independence. and while they would perish to obtain it, something was due to the prejudices of the ignorant and the undecided; that they might not appear to have persisted through infatuation or obstinacy. It was in the night time of the revolution. Thick darkness was round about the sanctuary of their hopes. Even Washington himself was disturbed—but not dismayed; yet others saw nothing but serenity in his countenance. From Congress nothing was concealed: in vain they turned towards him for encouragement—while others obtained a renewal of hope and vigour in the contem-

plation of Washington's aspect, the American Congress saw nothing but the naked truth; a chart that told how hopeless was the path they had chosen—how beset with danger and trials. Yet—and it ought never to be forgotten—Congress and Washington were immoveable. Not one step was taken in retreat from the stand they had chosen. America saw in her Senate Chamber, the resurrection of the men of Rome, who, amid the relics of an empire, awaited the approach of the barbarian.

Eight days after their appointment, the Committee had an interview with Lord Howe, upon Staten Island, opposite Amboy. His Lordship received and entertained them with the utmost respect; but in the discussion of the subject was careful to express himself in the most general and indefinite terms. All was equivocal, courteous, and conducted according to the most orthodox spirit of the modern diplomatick science: not one inch was gained at last on either side. The Committee, who had been appointed, not in any hope of accommodation, but to gratify the publick, and to satisfy the world on a question which had agitated all America—the true intentions of Great Britain—were soon convinced that nothing was to be hoped. It was certain that his Lordship was only empowered to negociate, not to conclude a treaty. He came to amuse, to qualify, to explain; not to acknowledge, retract, or settle differences. No plan of accommodation was proposed; but something was said, and remotely insisted on, by his Lordship, about absolute and unconditional submission. It was evident that such diplomatick quibbling was painful to the frank, manly disposition of Lord Howe, for he frequently exhibited a degree of embarrassment, which all his high breed-

ing and social freedom of intercourse could not conceal. It was painful to see such a man so employed. But the conference—for such interviews are not to be terminated because both parties are weary of each other, or because each is ashamed of such trifling—continued for three or four hours.

The committee made a report to Congress which was accepted and published. Some good consequences resulted to the Americans from the event. The loyalists were satisfied that they had to deal with men of irresistible resolution. The British commissioners were struck with the temperate, manly discussion of the American delegates. All was calm, collected, dignified, there was nothing of the vehemence of young men ; it was the language and manner of wisdom and experience, the stern thoughtful aspect of manhood in its maturity—supported by confidence in heaven and the justice of their cause. The whole conduct inspired the spectators with something of reverence and awe. They were plain men, entitled citizens, deliberate talkers, such men as had met the British at Breed's Hill—men who had debated on a question of independence, with the same coolness and moderation as they were about levying a duty on lands or merchandize. This conduct had its influence. Unconquerable determination and greatness were in every word they uttered.

The Americans also were satisfied. There was nothing more to hope from negociation. The scabbard was to be thrown aside, and he who had girded the sword upon his thigh, now saw the full extent of his toils before him. Till this interview many a blade had slumbered in its sheath, in the hope of peace ;

now, it was plucked forth, and all were prepared for battle.

One of the committee, Dr. Franklin, had been, when in England, on a footing of intimacy with Lord Howe. The affairs of America and the measures of Parliament had been discussed at their special meeting, and afterwards in their correspondence. They knew and respected each other. This was probably their last meeting on earth. They had been friends, they were soon to be enemies. Both felt the separation, the memory of other days visited them, and although both were negociators and on publick business, they could not forget that they were men and had been intimate, and their parting was painful. In the course of the conversation, his Lordship, without departing from general profession, suffered himself to speak, occasionally, as his heart dictated. He expressed himself warmly respecting the Americans, and the pain he felt for their approaching calamities. Franklin could not lose such an opportunity—his character triumphed over his feeling, the evening separation was forgotten, and he replied with his cool sarcastick expression of humanity, "that the Americans would show their gratitude by endeavoring to lessen as much as possible, all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities to take care of themselves."

But, to return to Washington—his situation became more distressing and precarious every hour. The flying camp had dwindled away to nothing. The militia were riotous, dismayed, and ungovernable. On one occasion such was their intolerable panick at the approach of danger, arising from their recent defeat on Long Island, that a large body ran off at the

firing of a ship's broadside, when not a man was injured. The total number of men fit for duty, including all the outposts, was for many days, less than twenty thousand. More than one third were militia and new levies, alike unworthy the name of soldiers; and the regulars, who, under other circumstances, or alone, might have been depended upon for services equal to their strength, were broken down, and defeated by the constant desertions of the militia. That object which others fly from is soon likely to be regarded with apprehension by the boldest and steadiest. The camp was thinning away, as before a pestilence, by the uninterrupted, but silent desertion of troops; and to complete the disheartening recapitulation, within nine days after the evacuation, the number of sick was equal to one fourth of the whole army.

At this time too, when the very salvation of the country was at stake, and mutual concession, mildness and forbearance was most necessary, there was a malignant and restless jealousy, quickened by mutual recrimination and local reflections, working its way into the marrow of the army. And what was still more incredible, this spirit appeared to have its growth, or force, from head quarters; not from the commander in chief, he would have spilt his blood to quench the first appearance of the flame, but an Adjutant General. This man, whatever might have been his motive, was the chief among those to whom the evil was attributed. To counteract his influence, so far as possible, without increasing the division, by his removal, a deputy Adjutant General was appointed.

The disaffection from which the enemy hoped so much, and from which he had derived such important aid on Long Island, was not confined to the citizens.

The infection had communicated to the soldiery. A Lieutenant Colonel was tried and convicted, of having written a letter to Gov. Tryon, offering his services, and stipulating for his reward. Whether it was thought impolitick to proceed to extremity in this case, or whether, as it is said the wretch owed his escape, to having military officers in the court, who knew nothing of the law, cannot now be determined, but after conviction, his only punishment was dismission from the service, when it would have been a greater punishment to have kept him there.

The disaffected or rather the loyalists, were a formidable party in the middle states. They might be forgiven—many of them acted from principle, from a conscientious regard to their duty, from affection to their sovereign, and however mistaken they may have been, they deserve no censure. It is the infirmity of men's nature to err, and the majority cannot complain if the minority insist on the same privilege, for which the predominant party are contending, the liberty of judging for themselves. But all this is no excuse for a traitor.

The American army, after some further augmentations, were at length distributed in the following proportions among the posts to be defended.

Four thousand five hundred men were left at New York; six thousand five hundred were posted at Haerlem; and twelve thousand at the further extremity of the Island, at Kingsbridge, and the publick stores were removed to Dobb's Ferry, about twenty-six miles from New-York. The causes of this arrangement will be circumstantially exhibited.

On the hills, and in the vicinity of these places, forts had been erected, and they were garrisoned with their

troops. The strongest was Fort Washington, near Haerlem, of difficult access, commanding the North River, and opposite to Fort Lee, on the Jersey side. These two were intended to defend the passage, and with the obstructions in the channel, were considered sufficient. After this distribution, it soon became evident from the manœuvering of the enemy, that he meant to throw his whole force between the American main army at Kingsbridge, and the division in New York and its neighbourhood. As soon as those indications assumed a definite countenance, the American general posted himself at an intermediate distance, about ten miles from the city, and not far from Fort Washington. This movement induced him to concentrate his force at every given point, and reinforce the two extremities, as occasion might require; where that would be foretold only by conjecture. The enemy was able to choose his time and place of attack, which gave him considerable advantages in any sudden enterprise.

The British had already taken possession of Montezae's Island, and thrown upon it, a large body of troops. It lies on the north of Haerlem River, which runs out of the Sound into the North River, and afforded them great facilities for landing on the low grounds of Morissania, if they intended to seize the farms above Kingsbridge; or on the plains of Haerlem, if they designed to interrupt the communication between the American posts. On the twelfth of September, one of the enemy's ships moved towards Hurl Gate, but the tide left her and she could not lay near enough to the American works for commanding them. Their batteries from this island, kept up an incessant

fire, but with little effect, while some indications of a divided attack were repeatedly manifested.

The day before the meeting between the committee and Lord Howe, five ships of war ran up the East River; this movement with the urgent advice of certain officers, determined Washington to evacuate the city as speedily as possible. Col. Glover was employed in removing the hospital, ordnance and stores, which he began to do about nine in the evening, and by the next morning at sunrise, his brigade had landed in the Jerseys, leaving only a body of sick, amounting to about five hundred, detached about the city. On the next morning he was ordered to strike his tents and move the heavy baggage up the North River in boats, while the lighter stores were carried in wagons. This was completed about nine at night, when an alarm was given, and he was ordered to join General M'Dougall at Haerlem, immediately; he marched and the baggage of two regiments which he was obliged to leave behind, afterwards fell into the hands of the enemy. Hardly had he reached Kingsbridge, and his exhausted troops were preparing to refresh themselves, when a new express arrived, announcing the approach of the enemy. Their knapsacks, which had just been thrown off, were instantly swung, and they pushed for the field of battle—on their way they were joined by five other brigades, amounting in all to about seven thousand, formed in order of battle upon Haerlem plains.

General Howe having now prepared his plan for a descent on New York island, for bringing the Americans to a general action, or breaking the communication between their posts, on the 15th of September began to land his men under cover of five ships of

war, between South Bay and Kipp's Bay, about three miles above the city. Works had been thrown up there, which were capable of withstanding an attack for a considerable time, and even till reinforcements should arrive, if they were necessary, and troops were stationed in them to oppose any landing of the enemy. But they fled—at the first approach of the British, and abandoned the works with the most shameful precipitation. Two brigades had been put in motion for their support on the first intimation of the enemy's approach, and General Washington, in person, hurried to the scene of action, expecting by his presence to retrieve his late disasters and animate his troops to inflict a severe retribution on the enemy. He met the whole party in a tumultuous flight—it was a bitter moment for that great man: to have risked himself, his country, his immortality, with such dastards; it was the most cruel agony of his life. For once, he ceased to be Washington. He gallopped through the crowd; threw himself in their rear; reined his horse towards the enemy; commanded, entreated, and threatened; it was all in vain—he even attempted to cut down the cowards, and snapped his pistols at them. They were not to be stayed for a minute: their flight became still more shamefully precipitate at the sudden appearance of a small body of their pursuers, not exceeding sixty or seventy. In this hour of self abandonment, Washington would have been lost, but for the violence of his officers—they seized the bridle of his horse and gave him a different direction, as he was advancing towards the enemy.

The ships in the North and East rivers, during this transaction, were throwing their grape shot and langrage quite across the island. The Hessians having

landed, began their march, but some delay was caused in their junction by their seizing a number of persons, whom they found concealed in a barn, that had been placed there for guards. This mistake was soon explained, and the British having landed their whole force, they directed their march towards Kingsbridge. The retreating Americans who had fled in such disorder from Kipp's Bay, never halted for an instant, until they encountered Colonel Glover, who was then hastening to their support. This gave them some confidence; they halted, formed and paraded on the high grounds in their front. At this moment the enemy again appeared on the next eminence, with a force then estimated at eight thousand. The Americans exhibited uncommon fire; they wished to give battle immediately: for a moment Washington, with the stinging recollection of the scene he had just witnessed fresh upon his heart, was on the point of leading them to the attack; but a moment's consideration changed his purpose. He could not depend upon undisciplined valour—the fever of shame and indignation, for a victory of the cool and steady bravery of well organized veterans.

The Americans encamped on the heights of Haerlem; and the British Generals finding no prospect of immediate battle renewed, repaired to a neighbouring mansion for refreshment, where so much time was consumed, that the rear guard of the American army, about three thousand four hundred, under General Putnam, were suffered to escape from New York, unmolested. General Putnam, aware of the danger in taking the main road by which the enemy would approach, directed his march along another on the banks of the North River, continuing along it until it turns

abruptly to the right, where it unites with a narrow way, passing to Bloomingdale. By this route he escaped unperceived. His success has been attributed to a great neglect in the enemy. A small body of troops with two field pieces, might have taken a position that would have cut off his retreat.

In the course of this and the following day, seventeen officers and three hundred and fifty four privates were captured by the British. General Howe has not escaped censure for his conduct on this occasion. His plan was to bring Washington to an engagement. It was said that if, instead of landing on the island as he did, leaving the Americans at liberty to walk where they pleased, he had thrown his troops above Kingsbridge, hemmed in the whole American army, which he could have done with his ships in both rivers and the military forces at his command, he might have approached nearer and nearer to his adversary, till he brought on a general engagement. That such was his design, is certain, but how his measures were calculated to produce it can only be determined by military men fully acquainted with the ground, and the force of the respective armies.

The following letter from the Commander in Chief, may help to determine how far the causes above suggested would have been effectual, had it been adopted at first by Sir William Howe. It is written on the 8th of September. "Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 6th instant, I have called a council of the General Officers in order to take a full and comprehensive view of our situation, and therefrom form such a plan of future defence as may be immediately pursued, and subject to no other alteration than

a change of operations on the enemy's side may occasion.

"Before the landing of the enemy on Long Island, the point of attack could not be known, or any satisfactory judgment formed of his intentions. It might be on Long Island, or Bergen, or directly in the city. This made it necessary to be prepared for each, and has occasioned an expense of labour, which now seems useless, and is regretted by those who form a judgment from after knowledge. But, I trust, that men of discernment will think differently and see that by such works and preparations, we have not only delayed the operations of the campaign, till it is too late to effect any capital incursions into the country, but have drawn the enemy's force into one point and obliged them to disclose their plan, so as to enable us to form our defence with some certainty.

"It is now extremely obvious from all intelligence, from their movements, and every other circumstance; that, having landed their whole army on Long Island, except about four thousand on Staten Island, they mean to enclose us on the island of New York, by taking post in our rear, while the shipping effectually secure the port; and thus, either by cutting off our communication with the country, obliging us to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion; or by a brilliant stroke endeavour to cut this army in pieces, and secure the collection of arms and stores, which they well know we shall not be able soon to replace.

"Having, therefore, their system unfolded to us, it becomes an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties, and every measure on our part,

(however painful the reflection is from experience) is to be formed with some apprehension that all our troops will not do their duty. In deliberating on this great question, it was impossible to forget that history, our own experience, the advice of our ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy, and even the declarations of Congress, demonstrate that on our side the war should be defensive: (it has ever been called a war of posts)—that we should on all occasions avoid a general action, nor put any thing to the risk, unless compelled by an extremity into which we ought never to be drawn.

"The arguments on which such a system was founded were deemed reasonable, and experience has given her sanction."

This letter should be read and re-read; and that too, under the recollection that it exhibits a plan only designed, and not executed. Now, every man, soldier or citizen, is sagacious enough to see that "a war of posts"—a war of defence, was the only hope for the revolution, and must have been, of necessity, successful. But a much greater degree of sagacity, and military science, was necessary at that time, to qualify one for pronouncing an opinion with such confidence: and much more of a gifted spirit was requisite at that time, to see the issue of the long conflict with such certainty, as to justify an officer high in his country's favour, with troops eager for action, in withholding them in their career; much more of moderation, too, than a soldier is generally endued with, to put back the laurels that approached him, because in the effort that he might make to reach them, the fate of his country is involved; merely because he might fail, and the

liberty of his country was too mighty a stake to throw at one cast, against a sudden reputation.

But Washington saw and did all these at the time; in the hour of temptation.

"With these views," he says, in another place, "and being fully persuaded that it would be presumption to draw out our young troops into open ground against their superiours both in numbers and discipline, *I have never spared the spade and pick axe.* I confess I have not found that readiness to defend even strong posts at all hazards, which is necessary to derive the greatest benefit from them. The honour of making a defence does not seem to be a sufficient stimulus when success is very doubtful, and the falling into the enemy's hands probable; but I doubt not this will be gradually obtained. We are now in a strong post, but not an impregnable one, nay, acknowledged by every man of judgment to be untenable unless the enemy will make an attack upon lines where they can avoid it—and their movements indicate that they mean to do so.

"To draw the whole army together in order to arrange the defence proportionate to the extent of the lines and works would leave the country open to an approach, and put the fate of this army and its stores in the hazard of making a successful defence in the city, or the issue of an engagement out of it. On the other hand, to abandon a city, which has been by some deemed defensible, and on whose works much labour has been bestowed, has a tendency to disspirit our troops and enfeeble our cause. It has also been considered as the key to the northern country. But, as to that, I am fully of opinion that the establishing of strong posts at Mount Washington in the upper part of this island,

and on the Jersey side opposite to it, with the assistance of the obstructions already made, (and which may be improved) in the water, not only the navigation of Hudson's river, but an easier and better communication may be more effectually secured between the northern and southern States. This I believe, any one acquainted with the situation of the country will readily agree to; and it will appear evident to those who have an opportunity of referring to good maps.

"Those and many other consequences which will be involved in the determination of our next measures, have given our minds full employ, and led every one to form a judgment on the various objects presenting themselves to his view.

"The post at Kingsbridge is naturally strong and is pretty well fortified; the heights about it are commanding, and might soon be made more so. These are important objects, and I have attended to them accordingly. I have also removed from the city all the stores and ammunition, except what was absolutely necessary for its defence, and made every other disposition which did not essentially interfere with that object, carefully keeping in view until it should be absolutely determined on full consideration how far the city was to be defended at all events."

"In resolving points of such importance many circumstances peculiar to our own army also occur. Being only provided for a summer's campaign, their clothes, shoes and blankets will soon be unfit for the change of weather, which we every day feel. At present, we have not tents for more than two thirds; many of them old and worn out; but if we had a plentiful supply, the season will not admit of continuing in

them long. The cure of our sick is also worthy of much consideration; their number, by the returns, form at least one fourth of the army. Policy and humanity require that they should be made as comfortable as possible.

"With these and many other considerations before them, the whole council of General Officers met yesterday in order to adopt some general line of conduct to be pursued at this important crisis. I intended to have procured the separate opinions on each point, but time would not admit. I was therefore obliged to collect the same more generally than I could have wished. All agreed that the town would not be tenable if the enemy wished to cannonade it; but the difficulty attending a removal operated so strongly that a course was taken between abandoning it totally, and concentrating our whole force for its defence: we were some little influenced in their opinion, to whom the determination of Congress was known against an evacuation totally, as they were led to suspect Congress wished it maintained at any hazard.

"It was concluded to arrange the army under three divisions: five thousand men to remain for the defence of the city; nine thousand to Kingsbridge and its dependancies, as well to possess and secure these posts, as to be ready to attack the enemy, who are moving Eastward on Long Island, if they should attempt to land on this side; the remainder to occupy the intermediate space, and support either; that the sick should be immediately removed to Orangetown, and barracks prepared at Kingsbridge, in order to cover the troops.

"There were some General Officers, in whose judgment and opinion much confidence is to be reposed,

that were for a total and immediate removal from the city, urging the great danger of one party being cut off before the other can support it—the extremities being at least sixteen miles apart; that our army, whenever collected, is inferior to the enemy; that they can move with their whole force to any point of attack, and consequently must succeed by weight of numbers, if they have only a part to oppose them; that by removing hence we deprive the enemy of the advantage of their ships, which will make at least one half of their force to attack the town; that we should keep the enemy at bay, put nothing to the hazard, but at all events, keep the army together, which may be re-united another year; that the transport stores will also be preserved; and in this case the heavy artillery can also be secured. But they were overruled by a majority, who thought for the present, a part of our force might be kept here, and an attempt be made to maintain the city awhile longer."

It seems evident, from the positive and clear manner in which the opinions of the minority are here reported, that the commander in chief was inclined to agree with them. Indeed, it appears from other circumstances that these opinions were his; for soon after a petition was made for a new council, and the majority united with him, in an almost unanimous vote for the evacuation of the city. The evacuation took place accordingly as has been previously related.

It may be considered peculiarly unfortunate for Washington, that at this period of his command, he was so subject to be entreated by subordinate officers. If a masterly movement was effected, it was attributed to their advice; for, the natural feelings of the

human heart would prompt every man, who had been at all instrumental therein to boast of it; on the contrary, when any disastrous or blundering operation took place, the same reason would induce every man to keep his agency a secret; and the consequence was, that the publick seeing Washington at the head of the army, made him alone responsible for all its calamities. There were always enough to participate in his triumphs, but few who had the magnanimity to share his distresses. The wise measures were their's—those of another character were his. It is true, this is the common misfortune of all who occupy an elevated station, but not to the same extent. At this period, Washington was so trammelled by the jealousy of Congress, that he was but nominally the commander in chief. He ought not to depart from the opinion of the majority, lest at extreme hazard; did he succeed, it would be considered a dangerous precedent, obstinacy or rashness; did he fail, a court martial, or a committee of blundering politicians, who could neither understand his views, nor his motives, and fully ignorant of military affairs, would be assembled to sit in judgement upon a question of retreat and attack. In time, however, this evil was remedied; Washington was informed that he was not to entrusted by his councils—they might be assembled for consultation, but he was not to be bound by their decision. This placed Washington, for the first time, upon the footing of the captains of Europe—he was responsible, justly responsible, for every step of his army. Their deeds were his.

Having so far permitted Washington to speak for himself; because on him and his army at this time the whole weight of the publick dependence was resting,

and because his letters were the only circumstantial history of motives and plans, and hopes and fears—other sources of information are now exposed to research, and it is no longer necessary to follow the same method. A more general view of the large features of the revolution, will now succeed, occasionally interspersed with documents of the same character, occasional extracts only will be made from his orders and letters, which will be sufficient for the expansion and developement of the dangers through which the independence of America was to be achieved. They will be so presented as to exhibit a connected view of the transactions of the same period, in the several states, within the smallest possible compass, that the whole may be seen at one glance without confusion or delay.

But before this plan is entered upon, the remainder of his despatch under the eighth of September, will be inserted.

"I am sensible," he continues, "that with a retreating army, encircled with difficulties—the declining an engagement, subjects a general to reproach. and that the common cause may be effected by the discouragement it may throw over the minds of many; nor am I insensible of the contrary effects, if a brilliant stroke could be made with any probability of success, especially after our loss upon Long Island. But when the fate of America may be at stake on the issue; when the wisdom of cooler moments and experienced men, have decided that we should protract the war, if possible, I cannot think it safe or wise to adopt a different system, when the season for action draws so near a close."

"That the enemy mean to winter at New-York, there can be no doubt; that with such an amount they

can drive us out, is equally clear. The Congress having resolved that it should not be destroyed, nothing seems to remain but to determine the time of their taking possession. It is our interest and wish to prolong it as much as possible, provided the duty does not affect our future measures."

"The militia of Connecticut is reduced from six thousand, to less than two thousand, and in a few days will be merely nominal."

Such was the reasoning of Washington, on the eighth of September. On the fifteenth the evacuation took place, and the American army encamped upon the Heights of Haerlem, where he said he should wish the enemy to attack him, if any dependence could be placed upon his troops. But experience had convinced him of the contrary. They might fight, for native valour will sometimes unexpectedly blaze forth; but they could not be depended upon. They had no confidence in themselves, and little in their officers; were not accustomed to withstand the approach of an enemy; the whistling of balls, and the intimidating parade of discipline. The bravest troops in the world are but gradually trained to encounter danger; the most cowardly will soon learn, in actual service, to stand fire and disregard every thing, but the bayonet. The discharge of a musket, which at first is an object of extreme terrour to him against whom it appears directed, soon becomes an object of contempt. When the soldier first receives the fire of an enemy's platoon, he thinks every ball is directed at him; in time he learns that no individual is selected, and that the whole front in which he is placed, is the target; that, instead of deliberate, undisturbed aim, the ball is sent from one in trepidation, on the march, and directed at random;

or, without understanding the process by which his safety is demonstrable, or his fears allayed, the most unthinking soldier soon acquires as philosophical a disregard of danger, as others do, who have reduced the dangers of battle and probabilities of death to a science; and can demonstrate, by the doctrine of chances, that in modern battles, a soldier in the ranks is not exposed to greater danger than he would be in wrestling and playing for amusement. It is extremly rare that one in twenty is either killed or wounded; and perhaps an average of the slain in modern warfare, will not exceed one in thirty. It is true that in cudgel playing and wrestling, very few lives are lost; but it is also true that both parties are injured more or less; and in battle there are at least nineteen out of twenty who escape without any injury; and of those who are wounded, many are not more seriously so, than the conquered party in these rustick amusements. War is now reduced to a system of manœuvres. It is easier to outgeneral, and entrap an army, than to cut it in pieces; quite as advantageous, and by far, the less dangerous.

The early measures of defence adopted for the campaign of this year, by the Americans, were all on a limited scale; and under the delusive hope of a reconciliation. Until the Declaration of Independence, there was by far the largest party who not only expected, but prayed for a reconciliation. England was their home and by that affectionate term was always spoken of. All the wrongs which were heaped upon the children, could not make them forget their home, or entirely alienate them for their parent. The ligaments that connect nations are never less powerful, though less tender, than those which unite individuals,

families and clans. Consanguinity, affinity, alliance operate alike on each. Neither can be separated unless by unnatural convulsions; or the natural independence of the more infirm, when it has outlived its childhood, and arrived at age and power; or by a termination of their political contract, by the destruction of one of the parties—a gradual weakening of the bonds, and silent decay of reverence and affection.

The former of these cases, was that of the Colonies; they were in their infancy. The time of their manhood had not yet arrived, when they would naturally be released from a kind of parental authority.

Yet such a time must have arrived. The Colonies must have been a nation at some age or other. Causes might accelerate or retard her maturity; but when it had arrived, there would have been a silent and imperceptible decay of their connecting bonds—they would have been so attenuated by mutual repulsion between the parent country and the Colonies, that the moment of their final disruption, would have been felt by neither; but now they were in their strength, twined around every artery and muscle; interwoven with the whole political constitution of each, and were only to be torn asunder by the convulsive struggles of desperation.

The declaration of Independence was that convulsion. It was the premature strength of a youthful giantess, struggling against an attempt to imprison her limbs. One mighty effort!—and America arose with the badges of her subjection dropping from her form; the chains of tyranny beneath her feet; her arms uplifted to heaven, and her young bosom covered with adamant, the armour of indignation. The enthusiasm was electrick; every nerve of the political

body testifyed its sympathy with her presence. A nation arose in arms. But all this was not enough. Soldiers are never made by enthusiasm—warriours are made by nothing else. The less enthusiasm that an army has in the ranks, the better will it be qualified for a long and disheartening struggle. The fiery intrepidity of youth is terrible but brief. The cold cautious prudence of manhood and old age, are the only solid qualifications for a long war. Alexander would never have conquered as he did, with other than old men. The battle, which is to be handed down from father to son, from generation to generation, is not to be fought by the chivalrick spirits, which carried the banners of republican France, through every kingdom of Europe. Enthusiasm, is often irresistible in attack, in the battles of a season, in a summer campaign; but is hopeless, desponding and desperate in defence and retreat, through battle after battle, year after year. The triumphs are brief and dazzling, but it burns too brightly, it consumes itself. The most terrible enthusiasm is always the least enduring.

Such was the character of the Americans. When they became a nation, they were on fire with enterprize. But they knew not that it was not their duty to propose great actions themselves; it was only their duty to prevent the enemy from preparing them. They were the soldiers of a season; it was therefore politick to fill their minds with ardour and enthusiasm, although the battle which began with the Declaration of Independence, might be a perpetual entailment upon their posterity. But it would have been otherwise, had they been arrayed for the whole season of strife—not to throw down their arms until the war was at an

end, then discipline, not enthusiasm, must have been their most effective and formidable attribute.

The first troops were precipitately hurried into the field, under their temporary engagements, operating like an enlistment at will; under officers so exactly their equals, that one of them has been found shaving his own men; and it was a common practice for them to club their pay and share it with the privates of their regiment or company, and as might have been expected, under such circumstances, were defeated.—After their defeat, they hurried home with the same precipitation. Yet, some of them became solders; the officers soon felt their pride in requisition, were better paid, were more exposed to applause or censure, were entitled to keep better company in the army than they could expect at home, became unwilling to retire from places of authority to their tranquil equality, and generally remained when their troops withdrew. By this process of continual refinement, many good, and some excellent officers were produced, particularly among the higher ranks.

At length Congress were made to confess the full extent of the mischiefs they had brought upon the country by their miserable temporizing policy; and on the sixteenth of September, passed a resolution for the immediate enlistment of eighty-eight battalions, to serve during the war; this resolution was afterwards, on the twelfth of November, amended so as to permit an enlistment for three years, or during the war. This was the first measure of Congress, proportioned to the question at issue. Indeed, its whole character was vigorous and decided. A bounty of twenty dollars to privates and non-commissioned officers, was to be given, and land in the following proportions, was

offered to all who should serve out their enlistment: five hundred acres to a Colonel; four hundred and fifty to a Lieutenant Colonel; four hundred to a Major; three hundred to a Captain; two hundred to a Lieutenant; one hundred and fifty to an Ensign; and one hundred to non-commissioned officers and privates. The appointment of all, except general officers, and the filling of vacancies was left to the state governments. Each state was to provide arms and clothing and every necessary for its quota, to be deducted from the pay of the soldiers. The appointment was thus: New-Hampshire, three battalions; Massachusetts Bay, fifteen; Rhode Island, two; Connecticut, eight; New-York four; New-Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, twelve; Delaware one; Maryland, eight; Virginia, fifteen; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Georgia, one.

On the twentieth of September, the anxiety and earnestness of Washington on this account, led him to renew his expostulations in the following manner. It is a melancholy and painful consideration to those who are concerned in the work and have the command, to be forming armies constantly, and to be left by troops just when they began to deserve the name, or perhaps at a moment when an importaut blow is expected.—This I am informed will be the case at Ticonderoga, with part of the troops there."

On the twenty-fourth, the subject was renewed, in another despatch from which an extract will be made in the progrees of the detail, but something that follows respecting the distresses of the army, ought not to be omitted here."

"I would beg leave to mention to Congress" he continues "that the season is fast approaching when

clothes of every kind will be wanted for the army.—Their distress is already great, and will be increased, as the weather becomes more severe. Our situation is now bad, but it is much better than that of the militia who are coming to join us from the states of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, in consequence of the requisition of Congress. They, I am informed, have not a single tent or necessary of any kind; nor can I conceive how it will be possible to support them." And in another place, he says "these Eastern re-inforcements have not a single necessary, not a pan or a kettle, in which we are now greatly deficient.

The despatch of the twenty-fourth, above alluded to contains these words. "We are now as it were upon the eve of another dissolution of an army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon the occasion last year; the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper advantages had been taken by the enemy, added to a knowledge of the temper and situation of the troops, reflect but a very gloomy prospect upon the appearance of things now, and satisfy me, beyond the possibility of doubt, that, unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost."

The whole of the letter is the decent manly argument of a soldier, who saw clearly all he expressed. He urges an increase of pay—an enlistment for the war, on any terms, as not only the most powerful and certain, but the most economical means of defence. "To bring men to a proper degree of subordination, is not the work of a day, a month, or a year; and unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in; the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army, under my immediate command, is in a manner done

away, by having such a mixture of troops as have been called together within these few months."

But, to return to the situation of the army. On the day after the shameful retreat of the forces from Kipp's Bay, a severe skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, with three companies of Hessian Chasseurs, (riflemen) commanded by Brigadier General Leslie, and a detachment of Americans under Lt. Col. Knowlton of Connecticut and Major Leech of Virginia. The Colonel in the heat of the action received a mortal wound, and fell at the head of his men. The Major received three balls through his body. The Americans behaved with admirable coolness and resolution, and fairly beat their adversaries by hard fighting. Their loss, except in their gallant Colonel, was very inconsiderable; about forty were wounded. The loss of the enemy, considering the numbers engaged, was severe; amounting to nearly one hundred wounded and twenty killed. This little affair had a wonderful effect upon the Americans. These were the very men, who, but the day before had fled so shamefully at the first approach of an enemy. They had feelings, and being determined to redeem their reputation, or perish, offered themselves as volunteers to encounter the enemy.—The result shewed what might be expected from the rabble of the army, if they were once disciplined and well officered. The affair was equally inspiriting to the commander in chief. His orders of the following day contained a handsome notice of the brave followers, and an energetick appeal to the manhood of the whole army. Yet something of the military spirit was forgotten in animadverting on a remarkable fact, that some of the inferiour officers had disobeyed his or-

ders, and counteracted his schemes; but with the best intentions. Such a circumstance shows, unequivocally, in what a galling state of dependence he was placed. At such a critical moment as this, he dared not make an example of those who had disobeyed him, because they had been victorious; not even when it was evident that, had they pursued his instructions, the enemy would have suffered much more. To have called a court martial on them might have chilled the ardour so newly kindled, and would have appeared to the army as harshness or cruelty. Yet it was necessary, and should have been done. Examples were wanted; and there never was a better opportunity. A court martial should have set upon every man engaged; and, if they were convicted of disobedience, punished them. Let the precedent be proclaimed, and then pardon them for their gallantry. The troops should be taught to see that they were punished for a violation of military laws, and rewarded for doing their duty. They should be made to know that it is more soldier-like to be conquered when doing their duty, than to conquer when acting against it. Examples of both will be recollected. One of the naval Captains in the time of Elizabeth, who was stationed at a particular post to watch the enemy, and knew it was death to disobey, receiving intelligence that the enemy were sailing from an unexpected quarter, abandoned his cruizing ground to carry the information to his Admiral. The enemy were intercepted and captured. The officer was sent to London. "How dare you," said Elizabeth: "How dare you disobey your orders? You knew it was death." "Your Majesty," said the sailor, "I should be unworthy to command in the British navy, if I hesitated to risk my life for my coun-

try." A court was called; he was sentenced to death—and immediately restored. By this judicious measure no precedent was afforded for disobedience. And once, in Marlborough's army, a picket were found nearly starved to death at a great distance from camp. They had been ordered out, and forgotten. When the Commanding Officer was asked if he did not know that the army had marched, he answered, yes. Why did you not follow, said the other—I had no orders, said he. Such is the nature of true discipline. It is, indeed, the glory and pride of the soldier.

It was discovered, on the day after this skirmish, that a much larger number of the enemy were engaged, than had been supposed at the time. This gave double animation to the conquerors. A charge had been made and continued with such impetuosity, as to drive the enemy entirely from their ground; but the troops were immediately recalled, lest the enemy should advance his reinforcements. It was afterwards found that this was the case—a large body were on their road, when the Americans were withdrawn. The troops engaged were chiefly New Englanders and Virginians. The attack had been begun too soon by part only, and to that circumstance their loss was chiefly attributed. The first party were afterwards reinforced by a part of two Maryland regiments, and a detachment from the eastern troops, who instantly charged the enemy with their bayonets, with such fury as to force them through the wood in which they were posted, to a plain, and were still furiously pushing upon them when they were recalled.

Another attack was now to be expected on the main army. It became evident, from the movements of the enemy, that something important was meditated.

Their cannon were advanced towards the American ranks on the heights. Eight or nine ships of war ran up the North River, as it was supposed, to cannonade the right flank of the Americans, when the land batteries were opened in front.

The city had been taken possession of, immediately after the evacuation, by a brigade of the royal army. They had been there but a few days, when a fire broke out at a place where a party of their sailors had been frolicking, which spread with unexampled fury. The buildings were then chiefly covered with shingles; the weather had been extremely dry for some days; a strong southerly wind prevailed at the time; and it broke out about one o'clock in the morning, at a season when the town was almost empty of its citizens—and the engines and pumps were chiefly out of order. About one thousand buildings were destroyed, and but for the exertions of the sailors and soldiers with engines from the fleet, the whole city must have been reduced to ashes.

There were reports at the time that the fire appearpeared at the same moment in different quarters of the town; but this was afterwards contradicted; and the calamity was commonly ascribed to the disorderly conduct of the sailors. Happening as it did—so immediately after Washington had made its destruction a subject of inquiry in Congress: almost recommending the measure to Congress—the circumstance of its having been delayed till after the enemy had taken possession of it, could not of itself be sufficient to destroy the presumption that it was done by the Americans. It is now, perhaps, too late to determine the question—but this will be conceded by all: that if it had been destroyed by Congress, it would not have

been avowed at the time, and probably never afterwards.

The local jealousies and prejudices of the different Provincials had now arrived at such a state of bitterness and acrimony, that it was believed, the New England and Pennsylvania troops would as willingly fight each other as the enemy; while the disorders of the camp, and general licentiousness of the men, exceeded all belief. Many of the regimental Surgeons were in the daily practice of selling recommendations for furloughs and discharges for one shilling per man. One of the suspected number was arraigned, and actually convicted of having sold them for six pence; but instead of being hung up as a mark of the most shameless villainy, for the abhorrence of the whole army, he was civilly drummed out of the camp.

Several of the regimental Surgeons had never seen an operation performed, and were ignorant to a degree, that would never be credited in these days. And even those who had abilities, experience, and practice; and were otherwise qualified, were deficient in the most necessary instruments. A general return was ordered; and it appeared that in fifteen regiments for fifteen Surgeons and as many Mates, all the instruments, and they were private property, were six sets for amputation; two for trepanning; fifteen cases for the pocket; seventy five crooked and six straight needles; four incision knives and three pairs of forceps for extracting balls. Such a deficiency in one department, and that so important as the hospital, will enable us to judge of that in all the others.

While the American army thus occupied the extremity of the island, in constant expectation of an attack, with troops so ill calculated, from the discour-

aging circumstances partially enumerated above, to resist it, an attempt was made by a small party under Colonel Jackson on one of the British outposts upon Mutineer Island. The party, with two pieces of cannon, descended Haerlem River in five flat bottomed boats, about five in the morning. The post was guarded by only eighty men. One of the boats, as they approached, was fired upon by the Brune frigate, at anchor near the island, and sunk. The Colonel landed, attacked the party with great spirit, but was wounded, deserted by his troops and compelled to retreat with the loss of a gallant officer, and two and twenty men.

About four weeks after the evacuation, on the twelfth of October, General Howe having matured his plan for cutting off the communication between the Eastern States and the American army, began an attempt to enclose them and bring on a general engagement. This very step might have been taken a full month earlier, under greater advantages, if the account of his force and supplies may be relied upon; but General Howe was also a cautious, extremely cautious commander.—With this view the major part of the army passed through Hurl Gate, entered the Sound, and landed on Troy's Neck, in West Chester County, on the 12th of October. Two days after this movement, General Lee arrived from the Southern department: he had been anxiously expected, and his arrival was hailed by the whole army as a most auspicious event. His success at the South, and his being a foreigner, were sufficient to excite such feelings in raw troops, had his abilities and reputation been thrown entirely out of the question. The entire effective force of the Americans, including militia, may be estimated at the time

of his arrival, with much certainty, at nineteen thousand. The whole army were looking for his presence as the signal of battle. He found a prevailing inclination among the superiour officers to remain on the island, which he endeavoured to counteract by his utmost efforts, urging with some degree of vehemence, the necessity of an instant removal to East or West Chester.

A number of regiments had been sent away some days before, to delay the operations of the enemy: and it was so effectually done, that the royal army had spent six days at this most critical season in attempting to land on the continent over a broken causeway, when there were many other places where it might have been effected without difficulty or molestation.

In the mean time, the second division of foreign troops had arrived at New York; there were seventy sail, with four thousand Hessians, one thousand Waldeckers, two companies of chasseurs, or riflemen, two hundred English recruits and two thousand baggage horses. They had left St. Helen's June 28th, were driven into Plymouth July 7th, and there detained till the 19th. By this reinforcement, Sir William Howe's force was encreased to thirty seven thousand men; he immediately determined on a more vigorous exertion of his power, and had already begun a new system of operations at the moment of General Lee's arrival in the American camp.

The remonstrances of this General had this effect: a council of war was called on the 16th of October, when by a manly and frank exposure of their perilous situation; the enemy having the command of the water on both sides of them; a strong force in their front and rear; and the only chance of retreat left being by a

bridge, which they must pass immediately, or be entirely enclosed—a resolution was obtained for the complete and instant evacuation of the whole island.—General Lee also recommended, and even urged with earnestness the abandonment of Fort Washington; but in this measure, he was opposed by the steadiness of General Greene, who contended that the possession of that post would divert a large portion of the enemy from acting with the main body; and in conjunction with fort Lee, on the Jersey side, would be of the utmost service in covering the transportation of provisions and stores up the North River, for the use of the American army. He added, further, that the garrison could be brought off at any time by boats from the Jersey side, and his opinion prevailed. It is known however, that Washington was with those who wished to abandon this post, which so materially contributed to the subsequent disasters of the army. The system of defence, evacuation and retreat was therefore adopted in its fullest extent, as a general plan, and as a first step, the garrison of Fort Washington, amounting to three thousand, were left at the mercy of the enemy.

General Howe was at length ready to strike the long meditated blow. After posting Lord Percy with two brigades of British, and one of Hessian troops, amounting to about five thousand, in the lines near Haerlem, to protect New-York from the garrison at Fort Washington, and a delay, of six days already mentioned, at Troy's Neck, advanced to the vicinity of New Rochelle, on the eighteenth of October. On their march they were constantly annoyed by a party of Americans, whom General Lee had posted behind a wall. Their advance was twice repulsed, and the Americans did not quit their post till the British threw

their whole force into solid columns, when they gave their several vollies, and retreated, as they had been ordered. The Americans had a small number killed and about sixty wounded, but the loss of the enemy was much more severe, being unprotected and constantly manœuvering. On the 21st, General Howe moved his right and centre two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, where he received, on the 22d, a large reinforcement of Hessians and Waldeckers, under General Knyphausen.

Owing to the distressing scarcity of wagon and artillery horses in the American army, the removal of their baggage was painful, laborious, and sluggish in the extreme. The few teams that could be obtained were utterly inadequate to the purpose, and the deficiency could only be supplied by the labour of the soldiers, who toiled night and day at the artillery and baggage. During the retreat, General Washington constantly presented a front to the enemy, extending from East Chester nearly to the White Plains, on the Eastern side of the high way. This effectually protected the rear, which was uncommonly encumbered with the sick, cannon, and stores of the army, and prevented, what was most to be feared, their being outflanked. The line then presented a chain of small. entrenched and unconnected camps, occupying successively every height and rising ground, from Valentine's Hill, about a mile from Kingsbridge, on the right, and extending almost to the White Plains, on the left.

Some little skirmishing took place during the march. the result of which served to inspirit the Americans. The most trivial circumstances are not disregarded on

occasions of despondency. A small party of Colonel Hand's riflemen, about two hundred and forty, engaged a detachment of Hessian chasseurs, and drove them in. The former had one man mortally wounded, but the Hessians left ten dead on the field. An attempt was made to cut off a regiment of the enemy which had been advanced to Momaris Neck. The expedition was entrusted to Colonel Hazlet, but did not succeed to the extent that had been anticipated. The American advance under Colonel Greene of Virginia, fell in with their outguard and brought off thirty six persons, sixty muskets, and some blankets. The number of the enemy's killed could not be certainly known; it was said that twenty five were counted; but the American loss was two killed, and ten or twelve wounded, among whom was Colonel Greene, dangerously.

The royal army, enabled by their facilities for transportation, to move with greater freedom and celerity than the Americans, advanced on the 25th of October, and took a strong position with the Bronx in front. The latter immediately made a correspondent movement, broke up their line of detached camps, left a corps for the protection of Kingsbridge, and concentrated their whole strength in the White Plains, behind the entrenchments previously thrown up by their advance. In this position, General Howe having consummated his plan for bringing his cautious advance to a decisive action, advanced against the Americans on the 28th in two columns; his left under General Heisler. Before noon the American advance parties were driven in, and the enemy formed with his right upon the road to Momarioneck, about a mile from the American centre; and with his left upon the

Bronx, about the same distance from the right flank of the American entrenchments.

General M'Dougall, with sixteen hundred men, had been advanced by Washington, to a commanding eminence, separated from the right flank of the Americans by the Bronx, which by its windings, protected him from the left of the Royal force: And General Leslie with the second British Brigade; the Hessian Grenadiers, under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of Hessian infantry were ordered on the twenty-eighth to dislodge him. With this view, a brigade of the Hessians, under Colonel Rhal, passed the Bronx, and while the other troops assailed General M'Dougall in front, gained a position which enabled them to annoy his flank. The hill, however, was defended against this force and twelve pieces of artillery, for more than an hour, though General M'Dougall was deserted by two thirds of his men; four whole regiments of militia had abandoned him in the commencement of the action, at the approach of a small body of light horse, not exceeding two hundred and fifty.

During this attempt to dislodge General M'Dougall, the American baggage was moved off in full view of the British army; and a scattering fire was continued along the adjoining walls and enclosures. The Americans lost forty-seven killed and seventy wounded, and by a return said to have been found on the field, a common expedient with the Americans at this time, for discovering the superior loss of the British, that of the enemy was said to have been ten officers, including Colonel Leslie, and one hundred and forty-three privates killed and wounded. From the advantage of position, possessed by the Americans, there seems

to be nothing unreasonable in allowing so small a proportion.

Soon after this, the Hessian grenadiers were moved forward, within reach of the American cannon ; with the second British brigade in their rear, and two Hessian brigades on the left of the second ; the eighth and centre maintaining their ground. In this position, the whole royal army lay upon their arms, impatiently waiting for the left to make their attack. But during the night, Washington changed his front ; his left kept its post, while his right fell back and occupied a range of hills. In this admirable position, with his works encreased and strengthened, he was prepared and wished to receive the enemy. But Sir William Howe, was too wary to assail him, and on the twenty-ninth, after an ineffectual attempt to dislodge a small force under Colonel Glover, from a hill he had occupied, drew off his army towards Dobb's Ferry, determining, as he said, to defer a general action until a reinforcement, which was hourly expected under Earl Percy, who had been left to watch the garrison at Fort Washington ; and the Americans filed off in a north eastern direction.

General Howe, it is said, was afterwards asked by General Lee, while a prisoner, why he did not attack Washington at this time ? His reply was that he had formed a second line. But the American decipline was so defective, and the difficulty with which new troops resist the contagion of a panick, so great, that it was thought, if General Howe had made the attempt, and broken the first line, the second would probably have been thrown into confusion. To such speculations, it is enough to reply, that General Washington knew his men, and wished for the attack.

At the time of the engagement between General Leslie and General M'Dougall, while the American baggage was moving off, General Lee severely condemned the manner in which the American army were drawn up. He declared that, if the enemy should attack the centre and bring on a general engagement, the Americans must meet with a total defeat, or lose all their baggage, with all the labour and expense just incurred in procuring new means of transportation. But the precautions of Washington were altogether directed to another object, he had no fears on this account; his operations were constantly made to prevent the enemy from outflanking him. The question can only be decided by military men, with an exact knowledge of all the circumstances at the time; and the military character of Washington, may be safely put against that of General Lee, in the issue. Washington was cool, prudent and collected. Lee headstrong, impetuous and daring. The former was the best soldier to keep a country; the latter the best to win it. And here was no country to be won but kept; it was exclusively a war of defence.

The American loss during these evolutions and skirmishings was very inconsiderable. A few privates and four officers only were taken by the enemy. At first, it was apprehended to be much more severe; but the missing militia were constantly returning to camp after their terrour, had abated. A few prisoners, and among them a small number of Hessians and Waldeckers, who testified some astonishment when they found they were to be neither tortured nor scalped, when captured by the Americans.

The reinforcement under Lord Percy arrived; and General Howe determined to attack Washington in

his trenches. Preparations were made for the evening of the thirty-first, but a heavy rain delayed the attempt beyond the appointed hour, and it was afterwards postponed, although the day was serene.

A deserter during the same day to the Americans, gave Washington intelligence of this design, and in the course of the following night, he withdrew his troops—totally abandoned his camp, and on the morning of November first, occupied the high grounds in North Castle District, about two miles distant, leaving a strong rear in the woods and on the heights at White Plains. So soon as this was known to the British General, he ordered this corps to be attacked, but again he was prevented from effecting his purpose by a violent rain. The town of White Plains was set on fire by their rear guard, with all the forage near the lines, and entirely consumed. The above measure in the bitterness of party animosity, was charged to the American Commander, but it became evident, afterwards, that the burning of the village was wholly owing to the misconduct of Colonel Austin, from Massachusetts.

After these manœuvres, Washington, with part of his army, crossed the North River, and took a position on the Jersey side, near Fort Lee, opposite Fort Washington, leaving seven thousand five hundred men under General Lee, at North Castle.

General Howe presuming that Washington could not be drawn into an engagement, on the fifth of November, abandoned all his works in the American front, and made an unexpected movement towards the North River. "The design of this manœuvre," says Washington in his despatch of the sixth, "is a matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be

accounted for with any degree of certainty. The grounds we had taken possession of were strong and advantageous, and such as they could not have gained without much loss of blood, in case an attempt had been made. I had taken every possible precaution to prevent their outflanking us; which may have led to the present measure. They may still have in view their original plan, and by a sudden wheel, try to accomplish it. Detachments are constantly out to observe their motions, and to harrass them as much as possible."

"In respect to myself," he continues, after some others remarks, "I cannot indulge an idea that General Howe supposing he is going to New-York, means to close the campaign and sit down without attempting something more. I think it highly probable and almost certain, that he will make a descent with part of his troops into Jersey: and as soon as I am satisfied that the present manœuvre is real and not a feint, I shall use every means in my power to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs; nor shall I be disappointed if he sends a detachment to the southward, for the purpose of making a winter campaign."

About this time too, Sir William Howe had assembled a number of transports at Red Hook, with three thousand troops, with a design of visiting Rhode Island. There was no observed secrecy in the transaction, and perhaps from that very reason, it was believed by Washington to be destined to that part of the country, for he seems to have regarded it as the first step to a southern expedition.

"In another place" under the same date, he says "I expect the enemy, will send their force against

Fort Washington, and invest it immediately." And this, it soon appeared was the real design of the movement made by Sir William Howe. General Knyphausen had already been advanced to secure the heights, in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, the moment they were evacuated by the Americans, who withdrew to Fort Washington. In the mean time several ships, disregarding all the obstructions in the North River, had ascended it; a circumstance calling imperiously on the Americans to change their plans of defence, and prepare for some new and important enterprise of their enemy. On the eighth, Washington in writing to General Green, mentioned this circumstance, and expressed an opinion decidedly against longer hazarding at Fort Washington, but giving no positive orders for its evacuation, as the character of General Greene, who was on the spot, made it justifiable to leave him with a discretionary power, either of abandoning it, or defending it to the last extremity. To this General Greene replied, that he did not think the garrison in any danger; they could be brought off at pleasure, were very useful in diverting a large force from the main body of the enemy. "This post" said he, speaking of Fort Lee, from which Washington had recommended an immediate removal of the stores, "is of no importance only in conjunction with Mount Washington. I was over there last evening, and the enemy seem to be disposing matters to besiege the place. Colonel Morgan, (the commander at Fort Washington,) thinks it will take them till December expires, before they can carry it. If the enemy do not find it an object of importance, they will not trouble themselves about it; if they do, it is a full proof that they feel an injury from our possessing it. Our

giving it up will open a free communication with the country, by way of Kingsbridge, that must be a great advantage to them and injury to us."

In justice to the reputation of this able officer, that his reasons might be seen for persisting to maintain this post, from which such disastrous consequences ensued, the above extract is faithfully given.

While Sir William Howe was thus taking advantage of the absence of the commander in chief and General Lee, for the reduction of this important post, the former crossed the North River and took the position previously mentioned, near Fort Lee. As the dissolution of the American army was now approaching, with the end of the year, and one body of three thousand men were within three days of their discharge, he applied to Massachusetts for four thousand militia, and General Lee on the sixteenth, addressed those whose terms of service had expired, with the utmost earnestness—appealed to their feelings as men, as soldiers, on whose conduct the very salvation of their country was at stake, not to desert him at so critical a moment, but all in vain. They abandoned the army, leaving only General Lincoln, with one hundred and fifty of their number.

On the fifteenth, the royal army approached Mount Washington, and sent a summons to Colonel Morgan; to which he replied that the post should be defended to the last extremity. Intelligence of this was carried to Washington; he repaired to Fort Lee, and had nearly crossed the North River, for the purpose of aiding in the defence, when he met General Greene and General Putnam returning; they informed him that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a gallant defence—it was late in the evening, he re-

turned. At this time the garrison might have been withdrawn—there was a misgiving in the mind of Washington: but even he did not believe the danger so imminent that a night was to determine the fate of the garrison.

On the following day, November 16th, the royal army advanced against the post in four different points. While the enemy were approaching, Generals Washington, Putnam, Greene, and Colonel Knox, with their Aids, had crossed the river, and were hastening to the fort, when a sudden sense of their imprudence, fortunately induced them to return.

The first attack on the north side was conducted by General Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers. The second, on the eastern side, was made by two battalions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis, with a body of grenadiers and the thirty third regiment. These two parties crossed Haerlem Creek, in boats, and landed on the American right. The third attack, meant as a feint, was conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Stirling, with the forty second. The fourth division was under Lord Percy, with his reinforcements from the south of the island. Each party was supported by a powerful and well served artillery.

The party under General Knyphausen was compelled to pass through a thick wood, where a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Rawling were posted. Between these parties an action immediately commenced, which was continued with unexampled spirit until the Hessians had lost a great number of their men.

In the mean time, a body of the British light infantry advanced against a party of Americans, who were

posted upon a steep and almost inaccessible eminence, which poured a very destructive fire from behind the rocks and trees; and after suffering severely, drove them from their position, and thus secured the landing of the main body.

Lord Percy carried an advanced work on his side; and Colonel Stirling, with the forty second, and two battalions of the second brigade, effected a landing on the left of the American lines, forced his way to the summit of a steep hill, took one hundred and seventy prisoners, and then crossed the island. A detatchment from the American flying camp, who were stationed upon the lines, abandoned them after a slight resistance, and crowded tumultuously within the fort; into which, also, Colonel Magaw had determined to throw himself, when thus he saw the lines forsaken.

In the mean time, Colonel Rhal, who led the right column of Knyphausen's attack, pushed forward and lodged his troops within one hundred yards of the fort, where he was soon joined by the left column. A summons was then repeated, and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war; the officers keeping their side arms and baggage. The total loss of the British has been represented, but very erroneously, at twelve hundred. In a letter of November 21st, it is there stated by Washington himself, as communicated by Colonel Cadwallader, who was paroled—That of the Hessians, about three hundred privates and twenty seven officers were killed and wounded: about forty of the British troops and two or three officers. No prisoners, of course, were taken: and the total, instead of twelve hundred, was only three hundred and seventy. That of the gainers, the same letter says, "was

very inconsiderable;" but does not mention the number.

The number of prisoners taken in the fort has been generally stated at about twenty seven hundred, and from that to three thousand: if to the former be added those which had been previously captured by Colonel Stirling, the total will amount to twenty eight hundred and seventy, which reduces the difference to a very inconsiderable number: but there is yet something inexplicable in the whole account. On the 25th of October Washington states, in his despatch of that day, that there were fourteen hundred at Fort Washington, and six hundred at Kingsbridge. These were afterwards united, and amounted to only two thousand. And again on the 16th of November, the very day after the enemy appeared before the Fort, Washington writes thus. "When the army moved up in consequence of General Howe's landing at Frog Point, Colonel Magaw was left in that command, with about twelve hundred men, and orders given to defend it to the last:" then, after observing that he had countermanded these orders, and left the defence entirely to General Greene, he proceeds—"General Greene, struck with the importance of the post, and the discouragement which our evacuation of posts must necessarily have given, reinforced Colonel Magaw with detachments from several regiments of the flying camp, but chiefly of Pennsylvania, so as to make up their number about two thousand." Another circumstance which contributes to the proof that the garrison amounted to only two, instead of three thousand, is this:—the letter from which the last extract is taken, is official, and was not written until the garrison had surrendered; at which time it cannot be supposed that

Washington was so ignorant of its force, as to estimate it at one thousand men less than the truth.

The letter continues: "Early this morning Colonel Magaw posted his troops partly in the lines thrown up by our army, on our first coming thither from New York, and partly on a commanding hill lying north of Mount Washington. In this position the attack began about ten o'clock, which our troops stood and returned the fire in such a manner as gave me great hopes the enemy were entirely repulsed. But at this time a body of troops crossed Haerlem river in boats, and landed inside of the second lines, our troops being then engaged in the first.

"Colonel Cadwallader, who commanded in the lines, sent off a detachment to oppose them; but they, being overpowered by numbers, gave way; upon which Colonel Cadwallader ordered his troops to retreat in order to gain the fort. It was done with much confusion; and the enemy crossing over, came upon them in such a manner that a number of them surrendered.

"At this time the Hessians advanced on the north side of the fort in very large bodies. They were received by the troops posted there with proper spirit, and kept back a considerable time; but at length, they were also obliged to submit to a superiority of numbers, and retire under the cannon of the fort."

Washington then concludes, after mentioning that the garrison had surrendered prisoners of war, and that he had sent a billet to the commanding officer directing him to hold out until evening, when he should be brought off; but which arrived too late, as the treaty was concluded so far that he could not retract—in these words: "The loss of such a number of officers and men, many of whom have been trained with more

than common attention, will, I fear, be sorely felt." And this is all he says of an event which shook the whole continent of America; an event which in its consequences reduced the hopes of the country to despondency.

On the day of the attack General Greene and some other officers united to undertake the defence of the fort. The former censured Colonel Magaw for suffering the troops to crowd into the fort, when they abandoned the lines, instead of ordering them to the brow of the hill facing the north, to encounter the Hessians; and was of opinion, further, that if they had been so posted, the royal army might have been kept at bay till night, when the troops could have been brought off. There can be little question that if General Greene had been in command at the time, that a more resolute defence would have been made, and if the enemy had not been repulsed, he would have maintained his position, at all hazards for one night, which might have saved the garrison.

From the position in which Washington was placed, he could distinctly see his soldiers bayonetted, while upon their knees, with their hands uplifted, and even at that hour, great as must have been his anxiety, when the fate of so important a post was at stake, the feelings of the man were as conspicuous as those of the soldier. It is said, he was affected with the butchery even to tears: and General Lee, to whom the fate of the post was sent by express, so far forgot the natural and unbending stateliness of his character, as to burst into the most passionate exclamations, accompanied also with tears. It was indeed a terrible blow. Even on the 19th, he had not recovered his composure; for he wrote thus to Washington

on that day—"Oh General, why would you be over-persuaded by men of inferiour judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair!" The defence of the post had always appeared impossible to this eccentrick man. The moment he was told that it was determined to maintain it, he exclaimed. "then we are undone!" See I. Wilkinson's Memoirs, 108, for a letter of his to General Gates, in which he says, "*Entre nous*, a certain great man is damnably deficient."

Fort Washington being reduced, the whole energy of Sir William Howe was directed immediately against Fort Lee. This is situated upon a narrow neck of land about ten miles in extent, with the North River on one side, and the Hackinsack, and the English Neighbourhood, one of its branches, on the other side; neither of which were fordable near the works. This neck joins the main land nearly opposite the communication between the North and East Rivers, at Kingsbridge. It had always been regarded as an appendage to Fort Washington, and after the fall of that, every effort had been making to recover the stores, artillery, and ammunition; the last of which was completely effected, but the other fell into the hands of the enemy. It was not intended to withstand the enemy for an hour; preparations for abandoning were already on foot, when on the 15th of November, in the morning, Lord Cornwallis, with the first and second battalions of light infantry; two companies of chasseurs; two battalions of British and two of Hessian grenadiers; two battalions of guards, and the thirty third and fifty second regiments, passed through this communication in boats, and landed between Dobb's Ferry and Fort Lee, about a mile and a half from the English neighbourhood. An account of this movement was

brought to General Greene, while in bed. An immediate evacuation was resolved upon. The garrison were directed to gain the English Neighbourhood, which would secure their retreat; and an express was dispatched to Washington at the Hackinsack town. The main body were drawn up in front of the enemy, so as to secure the bridge, and Washington took command of them, while General Greene returned to secure the remainder, and collect the stragglers, which was happily effected. In the mean time the enemy, as soon as he had gained the high ground in his front, formed, and advanced against the fort, extending themselves in their progress, to seize on the passes over the river.

By the decisive movement of the energetick Greene, much was done to counteract the evil impressions against him for the share he had in the loss of the garrison at the other fort, and the garrison was snatched from the enemy when almost within his reach; with the loss, it is true, of all their artillery, then a most important consideration; a quantity of tents which could not be replaced, and some stores; with ninety nine privates and six officers taken by the enemy.

The purpose of Lord Cornwallis was to throw his troops across, from the place of landing, so far as the Hackinsack bridge, which would have enclosed the garrison between the North and Hackinsack rivers, where they must have fallen speedily, by some means or other; by land or water; as it had already been demonstrated that the obstructions in the North River could not prevent the passage of ships. It was, indeed, a critical moment.

Lord Cornwallis might have effected his purpose with much greater facility than Greene could have

prevented him: His Lordship was within a mile and a half of the field; and it was four miles from the fort to the road approaching the head of the English Neighbourhood, when Greene amused his Lordship by manœuvering his troops as if for battle, till Washington had secured the bridge over the Hackinsack.

The attention of Congress had, at intervals, from their first assembly, been strongly directed to the importance of a navy. There were those among the Americans who remembered that their adversary had once been as helpless as themselves in that most important engine of warfare, to a maritime people; and how formidable she had became, solely on account of her navy. They reflected that the materials were all within their reach; and that their extensive sea coast and innumerable harbours at the same time would furnish a navy with employment, and protection. It is not to be supposed that, at that very early period, they saw all the advantages of a navy. What was then speculation, has since become fact; what was then prophecy, has in late days been fulfilled. But even speculation and prophecy did not then imagine or predict such facts as have since occurred to demonstrate the indispensable importance of a navy to America. They had then little experience, were impressed with respect for that of Great Britain, and had little leisure to reflect upon, or investigate the subject properly. It was seen that, although not an island, America was only to be approached by water; that, although she might never be able to barricade her coast with a line of battle ships; or entrench her whole frontier behind her wooden walls, she was yet invulnerable, if she could defend her shores; that ships can only be fought by ships, that the most valuable commerce of

Great Britain was at the mercy of the Americans—and could only be protected by convoys as numerous as their merchantmen; that America ought not to strive in battle with her enemy on the waters; that she wanted no fleets—no navy for disputing the empire of the ocean, but a few swift sailers, that could run or fight at pleasure.

With these considerations operating upon Congress, a naval committee after repeated propositions and consultations produced a report which terminated on the twentieth of November, in a resolution for the immediate building and equipment of three seventy-fours, five thirty-six gun frigates, and one eighteen gun brig, to be built in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland.

On the 22d of November, General Washington, retreated to Newark, New Jersey, where his whole force, on being mustered, was found to be only three thousand five hundred men. His troops had abandoned him in whole companies on his march: a heavy despondency lay upon the hearts of the whole people of America. Yet, threatening as were the prospects of the future; gloomy as was the present; he stood amid the dreadful calm, as if fully anticipating the storm that was to burst upon him, and feeling that it was not to be avoided, but met. Were it for him to disarm it of its terrours, it had been done; but it was impossible. America was not to be sheltered from the tempest; but with the sublimity of great minds in adversity he looked forward with the hope of rescuing something from the wreck. There were heights in America, yet inaccessible to the enemy; ramparts that were not to be stormed by the soldiers of the

earth: He could abandon the shores of his country —retreat to her mountains with a few faithful followers, and there amid clouds and snows, hang out the banner of his America, in defiance to her oppressors. "Where liberty was, there was his country;" he felt himself wedded to her fate and was her appointed champion. It was not at this nor at that side of a river; it was not on the mountain or in the valley; the city or the wilderness that he cared to dwell;—it was where man walked erect; stood upright before his Maker —the pathless wood, the mountain and the desert were places of refuge provided, by heaven itself, for the great and good. There in the last hold of liberty he would be found at bay by his hunters.

Whither shall we go? said he at this time to a favourite officer—if we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us? That officer saw nothing but discouragement,—"If the lower counties," said he, in reply, "are subdued and abandon our course, the back counties will do the same." Washington was silent for a moment—the memory of what he was, of what he might have been with soldiers worthy of him, came over his spirit, and he was disturbed; but only for a moment; collecting all the force of his character, embodying his whole soul in one sentence, which ought never to be forgotten, he added, "we must retire to Virginia—numbers will repair to us for safety; we must carry on a predatory war, and if overpowered we must cross the Alleghanies."

What a spirit was there! what should a country despair of from a chief, who with all the inflexibility of the Roman had not his weakness—would not offer

himself at the threshold of the temple—would not perish with the liberties of his country; but dared to survive them, and if he fell, would fall not at the entrance, but within the deepest recesses of the sanctuary, grasping the horns of the altar. He would not desert the hopes of his country during the earliest ceremonies of their sepulture, but would watch round them for some propitious hour, when they should burst their cemetery and reappear in more awful sublimity and potency.

During the whole of his life; during the whole of the revolution when the master spirits of their race buckled on their armour and came forth in their strength; when the feeble dropped away, and the strong were scattered, and when only the mightiest survived the trial, there was never a sentiment uttered so worthy of America.

Hitherto the enemy had seen Washington, with the remnant of a disorderly rabble, vainly struggling to repress his own generous feelings, to hide the anguish of a soldier, and they almost pitied him. Hitherto his countrymen had seen him in retreat—the enemy hanging on his footsteps—turning on his pursuers in desperation—struggling with them when hope had abandoned him; yet all this time with an army powerful in numerical force. To day battling in his entrenchments; now facing his enemy, and now flying before him; circumstances most trying to the best established reputation—a mode of trial too, which none but the truly great can abide. Popularity is easily gained and more easily lost. But Washington was never popular in the usual acceptation of the word. His was that enduring reputation which

turns away from popular eulogy, in calm disapprobation; that reputation which enemies are the first to proclaim. It is the protracted growth of years; and its decay whatever be the causes thereof, is equally slow. Thus had Washington been viewed till this calamitous hour, when his hopes were all in an army of three thousand five hundred men. But suppose his last hope had failed—that he had been deserted by his last battalion, by his soldiers and countrymen, which would have been more than probable had this little band been cut to pieces; that with a few of those whose heads were as lofty as his own, he had abandoned the plains and sought the mountains; that the name of Washington had been thundered from the heights of the Alleghanies—where no artillery could approach, and where a navy would be derided—surrounded by the tenants of the wilderness, the savage, and a few of his guards; and suppose that there, in the last retreat of liberty, there! he had perished. what would have been the fame of Washington? when would it have been forgotten? It would have been the rallying word for future millions when oppressed by bondage; the spirits of Washington and Tell and Kosciusko, would forever have been seen in the van of those who smote for liberty; to them would have arisen their hymns in battle, and their invocations in peace. With what a different feeling he would now be regarded by Americans, had he so perished, had he left his country in subjection! He would have been the holiest of martyrs, and temples would have arisen to his name: the Alleghanies would be the Mecca of true believers in the divinity of patriotism.

Yet all this Washington meditated; and all this he would have done. Why then should it be forgotten? The frigid character of history would have been animated to enthusiasm: her conceptions would have been illuminated; and instead of epitaphs, and monumental entablatures of greatness, she would have been kindled with blazonry, eloquence, and song; and who would have been so fastidious as to condemn it? Washington would have been inspiration not only to the poet, but to the historian, the architect and sculptor. And shall less be done for him, because he did more than this? Shall he be remembered only in school-boy narratives and passionless records, because he did not perish! because, instead of being left the heirs of bondage, Americans are free?

Washington did more than all this: and deserves infinitely more of his countrymen than if he had unfurled his banner to the tempest, and perished upon the summit of the Alleghanies. He saved a nation by a sacrifice more glorious than martyrdom. A martyr dies but once, but Washington, the soldier and the man, suffered a death in every disaster and humiliation of his countrymen. Where then is their gratitude? It is true that his name is a continued subject of pompous, indiscriminate declamation—but is any of it all worthy of him? There is also a national jubilee; but is it a hallowed day? how is it sanctified? Not as a day of religious celebration, in which the whole population of the country should be assembled, and be made to feel the emancipation that was wrought for them; but as a day of riot, clamour, and unmeaning parade. He is the subject of painting; but in what manner? Not with his countenance illuminated as in the coun-

cil or the field. He is now and then mentioned—but with the dull, monotonous repetition of set phrases: in poems, he is sung as the great and good; but why is he not sung as the only great man? the only one of his race who has vindicated his origin; and in the image of the Omnipotent, has foreborne to act like the veriest slave to ambition. August and terrible without crime; and awful even in mildness. He, too, is the subject of histories: but of histories where the statesman and the philosophor forget they were men in the delineation of men: in histories where Americans are given to Americans with as little of his life and character as are the representations of the pencil. Why does not history assert her supremacy—give life as it is, character in its warmth; not the austere and forbidding narrative of deeds. Men must be made to feel as well as think; great men are to be made by enthusiasm, and enthusiasm is not generated by thought, but by feeling. Histories, then, whatever is the practice, should be so given, as to awaken emotion; to stir the feeling, or the influence of the examples it records is never felt, can never be productive of energy or utility. But this is the age of barren philosophy—passionless elocution, apathy and coldness, which nothing can disturb or animate: and with which the firm feelings of the heart have nothing to do.

But fashionable as it is to dwell on wonders with an immoveable countenance; to contemplate the stupendous elevations, the interminable rivers of America, and the mighty era of her revolution, as matters of course—the man who does not feel a lifting of his spirit, a more sublime conception of the human character, when the name of Washington is pronounced, though it be in a history, deserves no resting place in

the country he has emancipated; he should be banished from her atmosphere, to where the breathings of liberty have never been felt upon the wind, where all is calm and motionless. America was not made for stoicks. She has nursed and reared too many great men; men who want no pyramids to perpetuate their deeds; men who cannot be forgotten after they are once understood; whose memories should be consecrated to the holiest feelings of the heart; not in useless statuary, but in the affections; whose images should be in the mind, and found only by the family altar, the fireside, and in the habitations of those, whom they protected.

As yet Americans want a national—almost a natural feeling on the subject. They either ask too much or too little; they make all their patriots demigods in their national anniversary, and forget them all the rest of the year. But another spirit is already awakening; the genius of the country is disturbed; it will one day come forth, and then, Americans will speak of their revolutionary men, as they are spoken of, sometimes, in Europe: as the natural productions of a great empire, whose march is to be as calm and irresistible as fate; whose destiny, revealed at its birth, is to be mighty without bloodshed, and without convulsion.

Though all this be generally seen in Europe, years may pass away before it be acknowledged; and a still longer time before it be admitted by Great Britain. She has not yet forgotten that from her breast was drawn the spirit which made her youngest born so terrible in its childhood. Recollections of mutual injury provoke mutual injustice; but it will not always be so. The lioness will forget that her whelp was plucked from her in its birth; and the torn mane of the young

lion will not always bear testimony to his sufferings in the struggle. The ligaments that were rent asunder by the revolution may never unite—ought never to unite: but their sensibility will be deadened, and the remembrance of the agony pass away. Mutual justice will then be done. America will bear testimony to the home of her fathers; and Great Britain will look with admiration upon the heroick aspect of her youngest born. America will be the first to oppose all who would disturb the venerable majesty of her parent; while that parent will see her age renewed, her chivalry awakened, her genius rekindled, and the stupendous resurrection of British greatness in the western world. It will no longer be pretended on the one hand that the country of mountains and waters could exhibit only the degeneracy of creation; that she has produced no great captains; no legislators; no philosophers; nor, on the other hand, will it be maintained, that all her generals were soldiers; all her legislators statesmen; all her writers Bacons or Newtons—but the few that she had will be plucked from oblivion, and distinguished from the multitude. Less will be asked by America, and more will be granted by Great Britain, till both unite in admiration for the truly great of both countries. May that hour speedily arrive! But it must be the work of another and a nobler age, when men shall no longer be ashamed to feel, nor afraid to speak.

CHAPTER XVI.

Interesting remarks on the State of the Army—Defeat of Arnold on the Lakes—State of preparations at Ticonderoga——Advantages gained by the British in the Campaign—Heroick determination of Washington—His retreat through the Jerseys. Desperate situation of American affairs—Capture of General Lee—Issue of the Campaign—Measures of Congress—Brilliant affair at Trenton: at Princeton—Their effects on the Publick mind—Skirmishing—Treatment of Prisoners.

HAVING in the preceeding chapter followed Washington through a succession of retreats, evacuations, and disasters, from the defeat at Long Island, when at the head of nearly twenty-five thousand men —to his arrival at Newark, after the loss of Forts Washington and Lee, when his army was reduced to about three thousand five hundred, and constantly diminishing, it may be proper to show how the spirits of the people were affected by the operations of their army in other quarters; whether they were supported by counteracting triumphs, or disheartened by further and accumulated defeats and disgraces.

In the course of the preceding detail, innumerable circumstances, shewing the disorder and weakness prevailing in the American army, have been arranged and exhibited. The laxity of discipline, the trivial punishments inflicted for the most alarming and destructive crimes, such as disobedience, fraud, sleeping on the watch, collectively establish the fact, that the soldiery, so far from being in a state of subjection, was nearly independent of all order and laws. Their

officers could not, and dared not punish them. These dreadful irregularities were at last reduced to some degree of order. On the 10th of September, the Board of War produced a series of articles, defining and regulating the duties and prescribing punishment for offences in the army.

Had this been properly done at the commencement of the war, the revolution would have been completed at furthest, in two campaigns, then every man who enlisted, would enter under a supposed obligation to do his duty, and his punishment for not doing it, would have been considered as an act of justice; now it had been delayed so long, that the troops had a law of their own—it was published by all those who returned from the army, from one end of the country to the other, and new punishment, or greater severity would be regarded not as justice, but as cruelty. Yet, late as it came, it was a vast effort towards perfection. Soldiers began to take a pride in the profession when they found those who were a disgrace to it, no longer screened from punishment and infamy, no longer participating in the glory of the high minded and virtuous.

Something of the unsettled and arbitrary notions which had hitherto prevailed respecting the duties of a military officer, will be seen in the progress of the following relation. The commanding General exercised a power little less than absolute : and the subordinate officers were proportionably despotick.

On the 15th of July, General Arnold had left Montreal and crossed from the island of Longuiel to the continent, on the route to Chamblee. A great part of the British fleet and army had just sailed for the same place, and would have arrived but for a

failure of wind, about the same time with General Arnold.

The General when he left Montreal, brought off a large quantity of merchandize, which he directed Colonel Hazen to take charge of: He had previously directed Captain, afterwards General Wilkinson, to seize his goods, but with the spirit of a soldier, he ventured to remonstrate, and was excused. They were afterwards sold, and Arnold pocketted the proceeds. A circumstance which induced Capt. Wilkinson to leave his family. The Colonel disapproving of the whole measure, absolutely refused obedience. This refusal exceedingly exasperated the irritable Arnold. When they reached Crown Point, a part of the goods was missing, the owners had followed them with their invoices and claimed a restoration, and a court martial was assembled for the trial of Colonel Hazen on charges, preferred by General Arnold. The Colonel was honourably acquitted; but, such was the intemperate conduct of Arnold towards the court, that they were about punishing him for contempt, but first demanded his arrest of General Gates, a demand to obviate which in the plenitude of military authority he only replied by immediately dissolving the court and appointing Arnold the next day to the command on the lake. General Arnold was a remarkably active daring man, and at that time the want of his services might not have been easily supplied; much therefore should be allowed in palliation of the contempt here shown by General Gates to the court when they had deliberately complained of Arnold. The court continued sitting notwithstanding their dissolution by General Gates, till they had finished the examination, given

judgment, and prepared their proceedings to be laid before Congress.

At the same time other charges were preferred against General Arnold by Colonel Brown who complained that the general charged him with having plundered the baggage of officers contrary to the articles of capitulation; but General Gates had already determined upon him to command the fleet on Lake Champlain, and no attention was paid to the complaints of Colonel Brown.

There could not have been a better choice for the command of the little navy, which was to dispute with that of great Britain for the possession of the Lake; for, with all the evil qualities of his nature, which may be traced to one weakness—profligacy; he had a resolute fearlessness, which qualified him, better than any other man in common, for desperate enterprises.

The successful operations of the British in Canada, and the failures on the part of the Americans, having put an end to all prospects of its annexation to the states, much of the great interest which had been excited for the northern department, by the heroick Montgomery, and the successive disasters of the American forces, had entirely disappeared; yet there were some questions of great magnitude, remaining to be decided in that quarter. The command of the Lakes had long been a subject of the deepest interest. A war of conquest was no longer a theme of speculation with the Americans; but their whole energies were now to be directed for the defence of the northern frontier against the encroachments of Britons, and the devastion of savages. The successes of the British were of a nature to excite the

most alarming apprehensions respecting Albany, and the upper parts of the Hudson. They had possession of Lakes George and Champlain, from which, if they could obtain Albany, a direct communication might be maintained with the royal army in New-York, and thus effectually separate the eastern and middle states. The consequences of such dismemberment, were fully apprehended by Washington, and the most earnest solicitude had been constantly expressed by him on the subject. As the danger became more imminent, he had recommended the formation of a distinct army in the eastern division to act alone for its own protection. The probability of such a separation being effected was much increased by the temper of the times. The strong friends of America were few; the decided were still less numerous, and a powerful party of the disaffected were already assembled in the state of New-York, as if for this very purpose. Their numbers were constantly augmenting, and such was the weakness of government, that the arm of punishment was still upheld, when proofs of treason were obtained. A few individuals were confined, but no examples were made. Such lenity might have been popular, but it exhibited at the same time, the real strength of the disaffected, and the impotence of the well disposed. They had not courage to risk their popularity by vigorous measures.

The importance of defending the frontiers, and thus keeping down the spirit of disaffection, by preventing the approach of a British army, was seen at an early season by Congress; but the unhappy system of temporising expedients, delayed and enfeebled all their attempts. Instead of strengthening the

northern army for the campaign of 1777, it became necessary to create one anew. The small pox, defeats and disasters had reduced it to a skeleton. To qualify it for the work of this year, such large draughts had been made from the main army, as exposed Washington to the most imminent hazard.

The disputed command between Generals Schuyler and Gates, of which something has been said, was at length happily accommodated by the magnanimity of the former, who only asked to be employed for his country. The command of the department could not have been given to a man better fitted for its arduous duties, than was General Schuyler. He had a vigorous mind and indefatigable perseverance, and withal, was extremely popular in that part of the country. His duties had been of a nature the most complicated and laborious that can be imagined. He was to negociate with the six nations, at all times the most dangerous, fickle, and turbulent of their race; he was to furnish supplies to the armies in Canada; to keep open a constant communication with all the various departments; forward reinforcements when required, and watch the royalists. All this he performed with a vigilance and ability worthy of distinction; but, unfortunately, such services although the most irksome and the most useful, are always the least regarded. They have too much substantial worth to excite surprise or admiration. They are regarded merely as the mechanical part of a soldier's duty, which day labourers, and not soldiers are required to perform.

A powerful British army under general Carleton had been collecting about Montreal and St. Johns, after the Americans were driven out of Canada; and

much was to be apprehended from troops full of their victories and eager for new enterprises. But the command of the Lakes, upon which they had not a single vessel, was indispensable, before they could push their efforts beyond the American frontiers.

To penetrate to Albany by this route was regarded by the British as an object of such importance that they determined, great as were the difficulties, and extravagant as such a scheme would have been considered by common minds, to construct a fleet immediately, convey it in a condition for service to Champlain, and there bring the question of superiority to an issue by battle.

But the command of these waters was of equal importance to the Americans. The indefatigable General Schuyler who was fully equal to the contest of vigour and activity, was disqualified by the absolute want of materials, workmen, artillery and stores, although he had the command of the Lakes, from meeting the enemy with a new fleet—he could only strengthen the old one. Every exertion that could be effected from Washington, whose solicitude had always been unconquerable, respecting the command of the waters, was made; but almost in vain. Carpenters could find constant employment and high wages in the seaports, and Congress could not, or would not afford to pay them for the labour required. That carpenters would have abandoned the seaports, if it had been made to their interest, there can be no doubt; but it may be a question here if national parsimony is justifiable at such seasons.

Under these discouraging circumstances, the whole American fleet, assembled at Crown Point, amounted to only fifteen vessels; three schooners, one sloop,

one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The largest vessel mounted only twelve guns, six and four pounders; and the American armament was vastly inferiour to the enemy in ships, men, weight of metal, and all the furniture of war.

The next object, and one in which the destiny of the fleet and the hopes of the country must depend, was to provide a suitable commander. Arnold was the man. Washington knew him to be admirably qualified, by his wonderful activity, spirit and resolution. His expedition to Quebec had already made him conspicuous.

At this time, the evacuation of Crown Point took place; an event upon which the sentiments of the commander in chief have been seen. It was considered as equivalent to a surrender of Lake Champlain, and an opening of all New England to the inroads of the enemy. The field officers remonstrated against it, and it came so unexpectedly upon Congress that their deliberations were materially disturbed. So far from expecting the loss of Champlain, they had calculated on taking possession of Ontario and Erie, and securing it by a competent naval force. But to effect such designs, something more than a vote for soldiers was required. Artillery, stores, and money were wanted. From somewhat magnificent views of conquest the publick were suddenly circumscribed to measures of defence, and even upon them they could not depend.

At length the extraordinary plan of the British General was completed. In less than three months, a powerful fleet was constructed, the materials for which were transported a long distance over land;

the frames of the largest vessels having been sent out from England; a number of large flat bottomed boats; thirty long boats; a gondola, weighing thirty tons; and upwards of four hundred batteaux, were dragged up the rapids of St. Theresa and St. Johns, near Chamblee, and on the 1st of October, as by enchantment, the waters of Champlain were suddenly overspread by a powerful fleet. The squadron consisted of the Inflexible, a ship carrying eighteen twelve pounders; the Maria, a schooner, mounting fourteen guns; the Carleton, with twelve, six pounders; the Thunderer, a flat bottomed boat, carrying six twenty-fours and six twelves, besides howitzers; a gondola carrying seven nine pounders, and twenty gunboats carrying each a brass field piece, from nine to twenty-four pounders; some large boats acting as tenders, with each a carriage gun, with a large number of small vessels prepared for the transportation of the army, artillery and stores. This fleet was navigated by seven hundred prime seamen; of whom two hundred were volunteers from the transports; was commanded by an experienced and gallant officer, and the guns were served by detachments from the artillery corps.

Intelligence of these formidable preparations had been communicated to Washington; but he believed them to be exaggerated. At the same time, he was informed that an army of about eight thousand Brisih and German troops, under Sir Guy Carleton, and a regiment of artillery, with the finest train ever sent from England, under General Phillips, supported by a large body of Canadians, were to cooperate with the fleet by invading the colonies. The officers on the lakes were also informed of another plan, subordi-

nate to this, under the direction of Sir John Johnson, who was to go round by Oswego with eight hundred Indians; M'Clair's regiment, and some volunteers—enter the country by way of Fort George, and cut off the communication between the Americans at Albany and Ticonderoga, and they were urged to correspondent exertions to counteract this plan. But it was in vain—they were deficient in the means. They could only await the event in silence and behave like men.

As soon as the British fleet was equipped it proceeded in quest of Arnold. He was found posted very advantageously, forming a line across the passage between the south west end of Valcour Island and the western main. The wind proved unfavourable to the British, and their ship Inflexible with some other vessels of force, could not be brought into action. The weight of it, say the British writers, fell on the schooner Carleton and the gun boats, which after much difficulty had formed a line parallel to Arnold's, about three hundred and fifty yards distant; and they speak of their conduct in the highest terms. This favourable circumstance enabled the American commander to support an engagement of several hours with the loss of his best schooner, and a gondola, carrying three guns, which was small. The action was close and severe. The American General Waterbury, of Connecticut, who was second in command, was seen during the whole of it walking his deck and animating his men. All his officers were killed or wounded except one lieutenant, and a captain of marines. Sir Guy Carleton was on board his fleet, and on the approach of night, ordered the gun boats to withdraw for a more favourable wind, when

the ship Inflexible might be worked up. Two of the British gondolas were sunk, one blown up with sixty men, and their whole fleet suffered severely. The Americans also lost about sixty men; the Congress was hulled twelve times, receiving seven shot between wind and water. All were much wounded in their spars. General Arnold in person directed his guns; there was a great deficiency of gunners.

During the night, which was remarkably dark and foggy, Arnold made his escape in a masterly manner, by running directly through the enemy's line. By daylight the next morning not a ship of the Americans was to be seen, but the wind freshening, the enemy immediately crowded all sail in chace, and during the twelfth, having captured one gondola, and continued the pursuit until the thirteenth, about noon, when they succeeded in bringing him to action a few leagues short of Crown Point. It was supported with the greatest resolution and gallantry by both parties for nearly four hours. The Washington galley, commanded by General Waterbury, had been so shattered in the affair of the twelfth as to be entirely useless; she struck after receiving a few broadsides, that raked her fore and aft. The Congress galley was opposed to the ship Inflexible, two schooners and the captured galley at the same moment; two under her stern and one on her side, within musket shot. A few of the American vessels which were most ahead, escaped to Ticonderoga; while only two of the gallies and five gondolas protected their escape, and gave battle to the whole force of the enemy. Satisfied, at length, that further resistance was madness, and determined not to be

taken alive, general Arnold suddenly conceived and almost as suddenly executed a plan of escape. With that decision and boldness which characterises the true military spirit, he ran his own galley, (the Congress) with five gondolas on shore in such a position as enabled him to land his men and blow up the vessels.

This masterly manœuvre in such an extremity, had its effect upon the spirits of the enemy; such desperate gallantry gave a treatening aspect to the future. The Americans fought with such fury and obstinacy that examples occurred when, after any officer had fallen, the crews continued the action, still terrible with the impulse that had been communicated to them, though disorderly in their movements, and divided in their purpose. But nothing, perhaps, contributed so much to enkindle a chivalric spirit in the American soldiery, as the conduct of Arnold in protecting his flag. He would not abandon his galley till the flames were bursting from the sides, and then left it still floating in defiance to the enemy.

The termination of this struggle elevated Arnold still more in the esteem of his countrymen. To have contended so long and so closely, with a force vastly superior, upon an element new to him, and familiar to his enemy, and when defeated, to have brought off his men in triumph, and prevented his vessels from falling into the hands of the conquerour, were circumstances so honourable to Arnold, that the work of blood and expense, and the loss of the Lakes, was almost overlooked in the general admiration. The American fleet was now reduced to two gallies, two schooners, one sloop and one gondola.

But while General Arnold was gaining this applause, some disapprobation, as will always be the case, was mingled with it. It is the mark of an ordinary mind to be satisfied with any thing. He who can discover an imperfection in what others admire, easily acquires the reputation of superior discernment. There will be criticks on all subjects—men, whose business it is, never to be pleased. Accordingly, Arnold has been condemned for not having kept the open Lake, and again for not having stationed his fleet just above Clover Rock, about thirty-six miles from Ticonderoga, where it was said, he might have brought every gun to bear upon the single vessels of the enemy as they successively passed through the narrow channel. But the Lake is there ten times wider than is represented by the maps. It appears too, that in the instructions given to General Arnold, by General Gates, he was directed to station himself at the Isle aux Tiers, which a recent writer supposes to have been the Cloven Rock, or, as it is now called, the Split Rock, and positively ordered not to proceed beyond it. To this order he paid no attention; or indeed to any part of the instructions.

Scarcely had the shattered relicks of his fleet arrived at Ticonderoga with a favourable wind on the fourteenth, than it suddenly changed and blew so freshly for eight days as to prevent the approach of the British, and probably, to save the post. During this delay, and in the continual expectation of an attack, the Americans constructed carriages for about fifty guns, and mounted them; finished and strengthed their works, by surrounding their redoubts by abbatis, and received a considerable reinforcement from

Crown Point, who, on the approach of the enemy had set fire to the works, evacuated them, and were now assembled at Ticonderoga with a determination to defend it to the last extremity.

Pursuing his purpose with as much celerity and steadiness as circumstances would admit, Sir Guy Carleton took possession of Crown Point, and advanced a part of his fleet into Lake George, within cannon shot of Ticonderoga; putting his land forces in motion upon both sides of the Lake, and menacing a seige of the place.

Very different estimates are given of the force under Generals Gates and Schuyler, when the enemy were at Crown Point, the garrison was said to be about twelve thousand strong; but subsequent accounts declared it to be but eight or nine thousand, and these are probably the nearest the truth. The warm season having passed away, most of the sick had recovered. But with this circumstance in his favour, General Gates had others to dishearten him. For some days after Arnold's defeat, he had less than two tons of powder, and when he had collected all within his reach, his stock did not exceed eight tons. General Washington had been applied to for directions to call in a reinforcement of militia, but he had so often been disappointed by trusting to them, that he declared against employing them but in the last extremity. It was his belief, resting in the information he had received, that the northern army would be able to defend its possessions till the enemy were driven into winter quarters. In the mean time he recommended the greatest activity in removing the cattle and horses in the back country, in order to pre-

vent the British army, if it should pass Ticonderoga, from getting possession of them.

The lateness of the season which prevented him from opening trenches had its effect on General Carleton. After reconnoitering the works, he reembarked his army and returned to Canada, where he went into winter quarters, having his farthest advance upon the Isle Aux Noix. He has been censured for this retreat. After the true state of the garrison was known to the world, it was reasoned that Ticonderoga might have been easily reduced; that he might have wintered on the Lake, and renewed his operations early in the spring, under many advantages. But the propriety of such a measure may safely be denied. To winter on Lake George and depend upon Canada for his supplies during the winter, and attempt to penetrate the wilderness to Albany in the spring, would have been extremely hazardous, if not impracticable. General Carleton was a man of sound judgment, rather than precipitate or daring. It might have been easy to take the Fort, but it would have been impossible to keep it.

Yet it is not denied that the situation of the garrison was extremely critical. The deficiency of powder, already mentioned, and the want of flour, which was so great, that on the day of the enemy's departure, there was not a single barrel in the store house, and General Gates once sent the commissary out of the way, that the men might attribute their not being supplied to some other than the true cause. This expedient was adopted at a time when it was known that a spy was in the garrison, who was suffered to escape to the enemy, and his representations, it was thought, contributed in some measure to their

retreat, as they immediately embarked. The country people upon whom the garrison depended for their flour, were prevented from bringing it in requisite quantities, by their fear of the Indians. But their terrours on this subject, were nearly groundless; Sir Guy Carleton, with a spirit worthy of his rank and profession, while he allowed the savages to take prisoners, positively forbad their cruelties; declaring that he would rather lose the benefit of their assistance, than contribute in the smallest degree to their dreadful atrocities.

A number of militia had been collected as the hour of trial approached; but the moment Sir Guy Carleton had withdrawn, they were dismissed: for a week after their departure, the entire supply of bread for the garrison was less than thirty barrels, which was brought by land.

Some apprehensions were yet entertained, long after the retreat of General Carleton, for the safety of this important fortress; though the advantages were at first of a most gratifying nature, as they enabled the Northern Department to send to Washington with a powerful reinforcement, just as his army were about to disappear on the Delaware. This detachment never arrived. The soldiers returned to their homes on the way.

These fears were lest an attack on the water side should be made, when the Lake should be frozen over, which usually took place about the middle of January. The garrison would not remain an hour after the period of their enlistment had expired, which would be at the end of the year; but even then a new force might be collected in season for their defence from the New England states. So that,

all the events of this important campaign considered, though the Americans had gained nothing, they had lost but little, and had abundant reason for gratitude to heaven. After the surrender of Montreal, a series of uninterrupted evacuations, disasters and defeats had followed each other so rapidly, as were enough to dishearten any people on earth; had they not called to their recollection the resources and power of the nation with whom they strove, and how very little they had to expect from the campaign. It was victory to the Americans not to have been conquered—not to have been annihiliated, by their gigantick adversary.

And the enemy had gained as little in other quarters. He had been shamefully driven from Charleston—he had, it is true, expelled the Americans from their precarious possessions in Canada—possessions which never extended a foot beyond their entrenchments; gained a victory on Long Island; captured Fort Washington, but nothing had been done worthy of his force. America had lost a few vessels, forts, and troops; about four thousand privates, and three hundred officers, by Sir William Howe's official account; but she had gained experience, confidence, officers, and soldiers. On the part of the British, a campaign which had cost a million sterling, and in which thirteen thousand men had been employed, was rendered in a great measure abortive; Ticonderoga was not reduced, the northern frontiers ravaged, or any important diversion effected in favour of Sir William Howe. In other quarters, where the operations had been conducted on a yet grander scale, the issue had been as little availing.

It is now time to return to Sir William Howe, and the feeble remnant of the American army, not exceeding three thousand five hundred men, daily diminishing, with whom an army of thirty thousand veterans, fresh from victory and triumph, were to dispute for the liberties of America.

The General and his brother Lord Howe had, with that sanguine feeling of a speedy issue, which all circumstances seemed to justify, and which, all but the determination of Washington to retreat to the Alleganies, did justify, acting as royal commissioners, issued a proclamation on the thirtieth of November, calling upon the American people to throw down their arms in submission to their magnanimous King; proclaiming a general amnesty to all who should appear within sixty days and claim advantage of it, by subscribing a recantation of their political heresies. Many of those who had been the most clamorous for independence, were the first to be quieted : others who had been distinguished for the vehemence of their opposition, suddenly became the most orderly of his majesty's subjects. Some who had shared in the profits of the new government with few scruples, became remarkably conscientious on the question of responsibility—what was at first lawful resistance, now became downright rebellion. The greatest defection took place in the higher ranks of society. Men who had already much, had little to hope from revolution. The firm and undaunted—they who presented a dignified and determined aspect to the foes of America, were generally from the middle classes. They were neither to be bought nor sold—had enough to make them love their country—but too little to make it a matter of indifference who was their mas-

ter. They had possessions dearer to their hearts than lands.

The period for which the whole American army had been enlisted was now at hand. In November and December it would disappear. Only two companies of artillery were engaged for the war. The army had been organized at the termination of 1775, under the expectation that all deficiences would speedily be accommodated. A reconciliation was confidently expected within a twelve month; for which period the troops had been engaged. Even the flying camp, though formed after these hopes were seen to be fallacious, was composed of men enlisted till the first of December, from a presumption that the campaign would then terminate. The knowledge of this gave an overwhelming advantage to the enemy. He had but to prepare for a single day after these periods terminated, to strike where he pleased.

And thus it was. At the very moment, when the people of America looked to be released from their terrours, and find a season of repose and refreshment, the enemy, instead of going into winter quarters, suddenly commenced a new system of operations more alarming than all their previous victories. The approaching dissolution of the American army, notwithstanding the severity of the season provoked its enemy to pursue its inconsiderable remnant without giving it time to breathe, and thus accelerate its dissolution, or be at hand to cut it to pieces, whenever an opportunity should occur.

General Washington was posted at Newark, where his little army had been refreshing themselves, for about a week, without experiencing or anticipating any further molestation, when he was informed that Lord Cornwallis, with a chosen body of troops, was

on his track. This was the 28th of November; he marched immediately for Brunswick; and Lord Cornwallis entered Newark the same day. A rapid retreat was now the only hope of Washington. It must open the heart of the country to his enemy, but distressing as was the alternative, he preferred doing this to losing the relicks of his army, upon which, as a future rallying point, every thing would depend. Lord Cornwallis had six thousand men, and trod so vigorously upon the heels of Washington, that his van successively entered Newark, Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, as the American rear was leaving each; and finally, at twelve at night, reached the banks of the Delaware, just as the rear of the retreating army had left it. Here it was confidently expected by Lord Cornwallis, that the Americans would lose their baggage and artillery; and, but for the destruction of a bridge over the Raritan (at Brunswick) which delayed their pursuers for some hours, it is extremely probable, that his expectations would have been realized. But here, as Lord Cornwallis had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, the pursuit was discontinued; and it is probable too, but for these orders, that the event would have taken place notwithstanding this delay, as the Raritan was fordable at Brunswick at every recess of the tide. Other facts, somewhat unaccountable at such a season were these. The Americans did not leave Princeton till the enemy were within three miles of it, and the two British columns, which first reached Princeton at four o'clock in the afternoon, actually slept there, and consumed seventeen hours, within twelve miles of Trenton, while Washington was crossing the Delaware at that place. Sir William Howe, in a despatch of the 20th

of December, declared that his first design was only to get possession of East New Jersey, and Washington certainly conducted at this time, as if he not only knew this design, but was confident that it would not be departed from; for after advancing his main body to Trenton and leaving Lord Sterling with about twelve hundred, as a covering party; he afterwards reinforced his Lordship with the whole militia that arrived, and privately returned himself to Princeton. Perhaps he also knew, that Lord Cornwallis had been ordered not to advance beyond Brunswick. Except on this supposition, the fact of halting so long at Princeton, is inexplicable; and the conduct of the enemy still more so, while Washington was on his way to Trenton. From Brunswick, Lord Cornwallis had despatched an express to General Howe, assuring him that then was the time to conclude the war; that, if vigorously pursued, Washington must lose his stores and artillery before he could cross the Delaware. General Howe replied that he would join him immediately; but he did not arrive till the sixth of December. At Brunswick, on the first, Washington had hoped to make a stand, but was again disappointed in his militia. Had they supported him with spirit, he could have prevented the enemy from passing the Hackinsack. On the very day that he left that village, the time of service for the Jersey and Maryland brigades expired, and both of them abandoned him. Under the pressure of this discouragement, Washington wrote to Lee to hasten his march, or his arrival might be too late.

On the eighth, Lord Howe had arrived at the shores of the Delaware in his pursuit, with the intention of pushing a strong body across the river. Early in the

morning, he halted with his rear division, within six miles of Trenton. The artillery were prepared to cover his landing, and the troops kept in readiness for day light. At the place chosen, about two miles below Corlyl's ferry, it was only twenty-eight rods to a ridge of sand, on the Pennsylvania side, on which a body was to be landed, and thence it was proposd to march up to Corlyl's ferry and take possession of the boats collected there by the Americans, and left under a guard of only ten men. With the boats thus obtained, the main body would have been passed over immediately. In the vicinity of the place, at which the attempt was to be made by the first party, there was a large flour boat, capable of bearing one hundred men, concealed beneath a bank. This had been overlooked, when Washington ordered the boats to be removed; but was providentially discovered, and brought off, in season to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it.

The fate of America, for a season, in all probability depended upon that incident. The very day before Washington crossed the Delaware, a return of his forces was made to Congress; which made it only thirty-three hundred; and when he crossed, he had but two thousand two hundred; from these, such constant and rapid deductions had been made, that in two days, he was reduced to less than seventeen hundred; and by his own letter of the twenty-fourth of December, to between fourteen and fifteen hundred, hourly diminishing.

Why Washington was not pursued when the shores of the Delaware afforded such an abundance of materials for the construction of rafts and pontoons, is one of those events which baffles all speculation, if it

be not attributed to positive orders; but why those orders were given, still remains to be explained. Washington himself, declared in a despatch, written after he reached the Pennsylvania bank, that nothing could have saved him, but the infatuation of the enemy. The city of Philadelphia was only two days easy march from Trenton: a greater number of men than Washington commanded could have been advanced, and what part of the British fleet and transports were wanted, could have passed up to the city in one week, without encountering any obstruction; for at that time, the Fort on Mud Island was not built, the chevaux-de-frize nor chain prepared; nor had they fire rafts in any place.

This retreat through the Jerseys, was one uninterrupted series of discouragement to the American people. It had been commenced, immediately after the loss of Fort Washington, and a fine garrison; and a large quantity of military stores, abandoned at Fort Lee. In a few days, the whole flying camp disappeared. This was followed by the disappearance of whole regiments, whose periods of service had also expired. Even the reinforcements, which had been sent from the Northern Department, silently dissolved on the march, and General St. Clair, the commander, appeared in the camp of Washington, with only a few officers, for his relief. Every man had abandoned him. Even the few troops, under the command of Washington, were nearly useless from their wretched deficiency in necessaries. They were the garrison of Fort Lee, hurried away with such precipitation, as to leave their blankets and cooking utensils. He had no cavalry, except one troop, miserably mounted; and no artillery: yet under all these circumstances of distress

and ill fortune, with his little band, a part of whom were literally barefooted, Washington had the address to consume nineteen days, in marching ninety miles before his conquerours, and then to give time for the militia to collect for his succour. As these—the last hope of their country—fled before their pursuers, scarcely a man had the courage to strengthen them; while numbers were flocking to the royal standard, at every step of its progress. Appearance is every thing with the multitude. A gallant, well disciplined army, well officered, and well provided with all the furniture of war, with their banners, and horns and trumpets, were indeed a formidable trial to the constancy of the multitude; and all this, when contrasted with a feeble band of disorderly, tattered and emaciated wretches, who were flying from the haunts of men, like a troop of malefactors, caught abroad in day light. So powerful was the effect of this contrast, that it operated, not only on the lower classes, but on the opulent and distinguished. Some of the leading men of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were terrified into submission by this pageantry. Among others, and they ought never to be forgotten—America should know who were her friends in that season of doubt and alarm—were a Mr. Galloway, and a Mr. Allen, who had been members of Congress. But there were others who acted with fortitude; who were unshaken and immoveable.

It is said, that while retreating before his triumphant enemy, Washington again forgot the heroick firmness of his character, and was seen to shed tears. It cannot be true. Not that Washington might not have wept, when he looked upon his country, and thought of the widow and the fatherless: that he might have

done; but no man on earth would have seen him weep.

While Washington was thus hunted by his enemy, he had repeated again and again his intentions to General Lee, to move forward; but, whether it was owing to all his expresses being intercepted, as some were, or to some other cause yet to be explained, General Lee moved so sluggishly in the rear of Washington, as never to be of any use, and at length was taken prisoner. He had carelessly made his quarters in a house two miles from his most exposed flank; and on the 13th was carried off by Colonel Harcourt of the British light horse. This event was a subject of great exultation to the enemy: they boasted that they had now the palladium of American hope; and the Americans almost believed it to be true. The feelings of the latter were quickened to poignancy by the circumstances of the capture. They believed that Lee, their favourite—Lee, in whose military talents, from his European education, they had the most confidence, despairing of the American cause, had chosen to abandon them in this manner. His neglect to obey the reiterated command of Washington; his extreme imprudence in sleeping so far from his troops, and without a guard,* under the disheartening prospects of the country, would have been a sufficient foundation for any opinion, however extravagant, so it contributed to the general alarm.

But to other causes than these, his capture must be attributed. Lee was ambitious: a great man with great faults. Excellencies and defects are always proportioned to each other in the human character: he

*There was a guard; but they were scattered about when the dragoons appeared.

was ambitious, but not weak. He was not anxious to save Washington; nor was he willing to lose himself. If Washington's army was cut to pieces, his chance of succeeding to the chief command in America was probably better than that of any other officer. He did not reinforce Washington, because he was ambitious; because he actually meditated a blow at the enemy on his own responsibility at the time. General Wilkinson supposes, and he knew the character of Lee, that he would probably have made an attack on the British post of Princeton, on the very next morning, had he not been captured. If successful, a link would have been broken in the chain, and Sir William Howe must have fallen back. The supposition is not only ingenious, but supported by so many circumstances, collected and arranged in the spirit of an experienced soldier, as entitle it to something more than the credit of a plausible conjecture. It is rendered extremely probable that such was his design; and he did not voluntarily suffer the British to take him prisoner, because he was not a blockhead. He was, undoubtedly, surprised. His capture produced an unjustifiable despondency in the publick mind; he had been successful when the other leaders had been beaten; and how far his foreign education then contributed to his value, may be imagined by observing how much is now thought of European schools and science. Even now, the soldier who has fought in Europe, or the scholar who has been educated in Europe, exacts a kind of supremacy over mere Americans.

After his capture, the command of his troops devolved on General Sullivan. He immediately crossed the Delaware and joined Washington, who had already received considerable reinforcements of Pennsylvania

militia, which had chiefly been obtained, at this seasonable moment, by the activity and influence of General Mifflin, and was soon after joined by General Gates with his division.

On the very day that Washington crossed the Delaware, General Clinton, with two brigades of British troops and two of Hessians, with a squadron under Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Newport in Rhode Island, and blockaded Commodore Hopkins, with his squadron and a number of privateers, in Providence. The chief object of this movement was to prevent the New England states from reinforcing Washington; and it had that effect—six thousand troops, under General Lincoln, which were already on the march, were detained to watch the enemy at home. Another object was to interrupt the privateering business; this also was effected. But such inconsiderable objects were purchased too dearly. From three to five thousand troops were kept in a state of inactivity for nearly three years.

By the approach of the British army, the deliberations of Congress were disturbed, and on the 12th of December they adjourned from Philadelphia to Baltimore, where they met on the 20th, passing a resolution, at the time of their adjournment, authorising Washington to direct all things relative to the war, and giving him full powers to act at discretion. This was a noble example of confidence but it came almost too late.

Thus far had uninterrupted success trod in the footsteps of the British army. Multitudes were crowding to its banners. Their march was continued without molestation on the Jersey side of the Delaware; and they were only waiting for reinforcements to make a

blow at Philadelphia. But Congress was still unshaken. On the 10th of December they addressed the states in the eloquence of national energy and feeling. There was little to hope. But, after all, it was *only* to be conquered like men, with arms in their hands; and those who would have submitted if assured of safety and protection, felt unwilling to throw aside their shield until that security was rendered certain. Thus the strong and the feeble alike remained in armour. The mighty drama appeared hastening to a close. The actors were thinning away, and the last dreadful scene seemed at hand, which should forever terrify the brave and the oppressed from lifting up their manacled hands against their destroyers; but even yet there were some stout hearts within the land, the fastnesses of America, that would sooner burst than submit.

On the 11th of December, Congress recommended a day of national fasting, and humiliation: "To implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the confidence and assistance of his Providence in the prosecution of their present just and necessary war."

In this hour of darkness, when clouds were resting upon the pavilion of their hopes; when the prayers of a whole people were to be lifted to the EVERLASTING GOD; a sudden illumination passed athwart their firmament. It was in the councils of the nation. On the 27th of December the powers of Washington were unexpectedly augmented. He was empowered to give bounties, and use what measures he chose for the enlistment of troops, to appoint a Commissary of Prisoners and Clothier General, and fix their salaries; to establish a system of military promotion; to raise

and officer sixteen battalions of infantry in addition to those already voted; three thousand light horse; three regiments of artillery; and a corps of engineers; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of a Brigadier General; and to fill all vacancies; to impress stores and necessaries for his army, &c. in short, acknowledging, in so many words their own incompetence, and clothing him with full powers for the conduct of the war.

This was a prelude to great events. Washington felt his might. If he perished now, he would perish in a manner worthy of himself: not as a subaltern in the battles of his country, but as her leader and her champion. True, these vast powers, were rendered nearly ineffectual by the poverty of his resources, and the lateness of the hour; but if he could survive this season of doubt and dismay, a brighter morning would soon break upon him.

It might be proper here, as the campaign and the year are drawing to a close, to review for a few moments the measures of the continental Congress. It is necessary to understand their worth, their importance. Under the continual and accumulating pressure of all their calamities not a voice was lifted for submission in their counsels, or even in a single state or town, that was not absolutely in the power of the enemy. They had chosen their stand and it was not to be abandoned. But to such extremities were they reduced at the termination of the campaign, that some members prudently distrustful of the powers of America, single handed to battle with Great Britain, that they proposed to offer to France, whose aid they were then supplicating, that monopoly of their trade, which had hitherto been enjoyed by Great Britain.

The policy of such a measure was debated. It was determined that concessions of such a nature would only degrade the character of the struggle, to contest about pecuniary matters; and probably disunite the staunch friends of American independence. It was then proposed to substitute a monopoly of particular articles. To this the local interests of the several states opposed an insurmountable objection. Again, it was proposed by those who were hearty and resolute in their detestation of the British ministry, to offer an alliance, complete and unequivocal, offensive and defensive to France, if she would put forth her strength in this contest. To this it was replied by the politicians of the day, (and they were men who could foresee the consequences of such an unequal alliance)—that it would be either destructive to America, or useless to France; that the friendship of small states might be purchased, but America was too poor to purchase that of France. But this was the great argument, and it was urged with a force correspondent with its importance. If France can be induced to assist America, it cannot be from any reward that America can spare, but from a natural desire of crippling and restraining her formidable and ambitious neighbour. These arguments had been urged in a masterly manner by General Lee, while at the southward, to the French minister, and were properly appreciated. The navy of Great Britain, and her commerce were what made her so terrible; intercept the communication between her and her colonies, and the difficulties and expense of maintaining the former, would be exceedingly increased, while the means of supporting both would be diminished in the same proportion. It would be assailing her

dockyards and her revenue—the points where, alone, she was vulnerable.

The most powerful inducement, therefore, which they could offer to France or any other potent nation, jealous of the growing supremacy of a rival, would be the proof of an invincible determination, never to return to a state of dependence on that rival. After all these propositions had been deliberated upon, it was again determined never to listen to any terms of submission, to assert their independence with their last breath, and trust their destiny and the destinies of their children to the God of Battles. Copies of these resolutions were distributed at the courts of Vienna, Madrid, Berlin, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and commissioners were appointed to solicit their friendship and negociate loans. These resolutions afterwards fell into the hands of the British and were published. A magnanimous step, it must be acknowledged, but its policy may be questioned, as it contributed to extend the proofs of American firmness, in the darkest hour of American hopes, from one extremity of Europe to the other. It was a sublime exhibition. At such, his hour of deepest humiliation, when the nations of Europe were looking for his entire self-abandonment, to behold the genius of the western world, rising from his devotions, again throwing his shield before his force, and advancing to battle with the same undaunted step—the same intrepid look, but with a holier, steadier confidence in heaven. Such a spectacle was inspiration. Monarchs forgot their danger—their sceptres trembled in their hands, as they contemplated with enthusiastic admiration, the illuminated countenance of the young stranger, bursting from the solitudes of a new

world, and grasping the lightenings of heaven. They forgot that the bolt might be launched against themselves before an arm could be raised for protection—that the commotion which already shook the thrones of Britain was every moment approaching their own. This was the forgetfulness of France. The kindling presence of liberty was already felt amid her government of ages, already its dreadful agony was toiling at the monuments of her strength—they were soon to be tumbled to the earth.

These measures, adopted so critically in the councils of the nation, were seconded by a proportionate energy in the field. Fifteen hundred Pennsylvania militia were immediately embodied to reinforce the continental army. The delay of nineteen days in the retreat of the latter through New Jersey, enabled these reinforcements to assemble. The force under Washington, it has been mentioned, was fluctuating between two and three thousand men; but soon after it was augmented by these seasonable supplies, to about seven thousand. To give battle to the British with such a handful, would have been madness; yet something to inspirit the nation, the army, and give life to the recruiting service, had long been a subject of anxious meditation in the mind of Washington. So early as the 14th of December, the royal army, were so scattered along the Jerseys, that the probability of effecting something of this nature was constantly working in his thought. Opportunities were presented, but he was unable to take advantage of them; it was too hazardous in his enfeebled state, but as the Pennsylvania militia came in, a part were posted at Bristol, and the remainder of the army were cantoned along the Delaware to oppose any

attempt of the enemy to cross, and be ready for taking advantage of every oversight or imprudence. But instead of pushing their advantage over a narrow, smooth river, with such means of transportation as the neighbourhood of Trenton afforded, the British troops were thrown into temporary cantonments; forming a chain from Brunswick to the Delaware, stretching down its shore for several miles, and presenting a front towards Philadelphia, at the extremity of the line. An account of their situation and numbers was brought to Washington, by a lad who, on account of his extreme simplicity, was long permitted to mix with the British soldiers and traverse their camp without suspicion. "Now then," said Washington, "is the time to clip their wings, while they are so spread!" and immediately all the energies of his nature were labouring to effect the wish. But before it could be done, he was almost discouraged from the attempt, when he reflected on the probable reduction of his army which was at hand. No dependence could be placed on those whose terms of service had expired; and every information he could obtain, led him to expect the enemy would cross as soon as the ice should be formed. I saw him at that gloomy period, says General Wilkinson, dined with him, and attentively marked his aspect; always grave and thoughtful, he appeared at that time pensive and solemn in the extreme. An exact return of his forces was called for. They proved far less efficient than his worst fears had anticipated. But Washington was a man to know the worst at once: he would meet his fate and not shrink from it. His situation was communicated to a confidential officer. Let it not be discovered, said Washington; a discovery may be fa-

tal to us. This officer was Colonel Joseph Reed, always a favourite of the Commander in Chief, and afterwards Governour of Pennsylvania: He had written to Washington in a noble and manly strain of argument, apologizing for the freedom of a soldier—he, like Washington had every thing at stake, and urged a blow at the enemy, however, or wherever it might be given, as an event, upon which the salvation of the country depended. Washington felt the force of his arguments, and subscribed to the necessity of doing something immediately—but how? or where?—these were important questions. At length he had determined. On the 23d, he said to the same officer, "necessity, dire necessity, will—nay, must justify the attempt. Prepare, and in concert with Griffin, attack as many posts as you possibly can, with a prospect of success. I have ample testimony of the enemy's intentions to attack Philadelphia, as soon as the ice will afford the means of conveyance. One hour before day is the time fixed upon, for an attempt upon Trenton. If we are successful, which Heaven grant! and other circumstances favour, we may push on. I shall direct every ferry and ford to be well guarded, and not a soul suffered to pass."

The Colonel Griffin here spoken of, while entirely unacquainted with the hour and plan of attack, had crossed over from Philadelphia, and being joined with a few Jersey militia, advanced to Mount Holly; a movement which drew Colonel Donop, twelve miles from Bordentown, and contributed, in some measure, to the success of the attack on Colonel Rhal.

It was a part of the plan prepared by Washington, for General Putnam to keep Count Donop employed, but the latter represented the disorderly conduct of the

militia, and the danger of an insurrection among the loyalists in Philadelphia, so earnestly, that this part of the design was abandoned. The question of independence had been determined in the affirmative, by a great majority in Philadelphia; but the minority were powerful, respectable, and turbulent. Most of the Quakers were in the negative, perhaps from their pacific principles, and antipathy to revolutionary disorders—not with open violence, but with their countenance and influence, which rendered the minority yet more formidable. Theirs' is a dangerous neutrality in all seasons; for it is never strictly observed. They were not required to unite in active opposition to the ruling powers, to whom political obedience, with them, is an absolute duty; and they should, at least, have held themselves aloof from all measures, which might lead to more continued and desperate scenes of battle and bloodshed. But, whether unwilling or not, they certainly contributed to prolong the war.

It was at length determined by Washington, to pass the Delaware in three divisions: one consisting of five hundred men, under General Cadwallader from the vicinity of Bristol, which miscarried by a strange and unfortunate inattention to the tide and state of the river, then filled with ice, by which the opposite banks were rendered inaccessible to his artillery and horses. The next day, however, after Washington's return, supposing him still on the Jersey side, General Cadwallader crossed with about fifteen hundred men, and pursued the panick struck enemy to Burlington. During the day, he was still further reinforced with about eight hundred men, from General Mifflin. There was no want of zeal or activity, on the part of General Cadwallader. He did all that

could be done to support Washington. The safety of a small number of grenadiers left at Bordentown, by Count Donop, was only owing to the ice.

A second division, under the command of General Irving, was to cross at Trenton Ferry, and secure the bridge leading from the town; but there, the same obstacle presented itself. The ice had suddenly accumulated in such quantities, that he was compelled to abandon the attempt. Here, therefore, were two divisions out of three, absolutely prevented from coopperating in the enterprize.

The third, and main body, not exceeding twenty-five hundred men, under the command of Washington in person, asssisted by Generals Greene and Sullivan, and Colonel Knox, of the artillery, were paraded on the evening of the twenty-fifth, at the back of Mr. Konkey's Ferry, with the intention of embarking so soon as it became dusk. It was determined to attack the enemy early in the morning of the 25th, when the festivities of the preceeding day, (Christmas) would probably leave them, in some measure, unprepared. By twelve, it was calculated that this body, with the artillery, would have gained the Jersey shore; and it being but nine miles to Trenton, it was thought that, allowing for all delays, the attack might be made, as early as five in the morning. But the quantity of ice which had gathered during the night, so obstructed this division also, that it was three, before the artillery had landed; and nearly five, before the troops were on their march, when it began to hail and snow. It was then too late to retreat without discovery, and though all hopes of surprising the town were necessarily abandoned, it was determined to proceed.

It is a somewhat singular fact, that a vague rumour of this design, had reached Colonel Rahl; that on this very night his men were paraded, and a picket advanced to prevent a surprise; and that a captain Washington, afterwards so distingnished at the South, having been abroad during the whole day without effecting any thing, determined, on his return to take a slight brush with the enemy's advance at Trenton. His party encountered this picket guard, exchanged a few vollies, and disappeared. This attack, it will be thought, would necessarily, have confirmed the enemy in his expectations of an attempt to surprise him, but from the manner in which it was conducted, they were led to treat the whole as a frolick and had returned to their quarters.

As the Americans were approaching, they fell in with Capt. Washington's party, and from his account, very naturally concluded that the enemy would be prepared; but it was then too late to deliberate. The troops were thrown into two divisions; the right under Major General Sullivan with St. Clair's brigade was directed to take the river road to Trenton, while the left under Washington himself, accompanied by Generals Greene, Morin, and Stevens, advanced on the upper, or Pennington Road. This division encountered and drove in the enemy's advance, precisely at eight o'clock; and within three minutes, the firing of the other party was heard, from the quarter where they had been directed to enter, and push into the centre of the town before the enemy could form. The picket, which was driven in by the first party, believing this a second attack from the marauders who had just left them, neglected to give the alarm; and the Hessian outposts, being very inconsiderable,

were unable to check the approach of the Americans. That they fought with great spirit, was said by Washington himself, keeping up a constant fire, and retreating behind the houses. The person of Washington was much exposed the whole time.

By the time the main body of the Hessians had formed, they had lost their artillery, and were completely surrounded. They attempted to file off towards Princeton, but Washington, foreseeing this measure, had thrown a body in advance, which prevented it. There was left but one alternative; to surrender immediately, or be cut to pieces. They chose the former; and, to the number of eight hundred and eighty-six men and twenty-three officers, laid down their arms on the spot. Nine hundred and eighteen prisoners, twelve drums, six brass field pieces, and four pair of colours were taken, with the loss of only two or three men killed, Captain Washington and six others wounded, and three or four frozen to death; for the night was exceedingly cold, accompanied with hail and sleet, which not only chilled the troops, but retarded their approach over the slippery roads. The Hessians had a gallant officer, Colonel Rahl, and about forty others, killed and wounded. During the tumult, a troop of British light horse, and a body of troops amounting together to about six hundred men, escaped by the Bordentown road. These also, would have been taken, had General Erving gained the bridge as Washington directed. The whole force of the enemy was about fifteen hundred men, under Rahl, Losburg, and Kniphausen, with the troop of horse. General Wilkinson, who was present in the action, speaks in animated terms of Captain Washington, Lieutenant Monroe, (now President of

the United States,) and Colonel Stark; of their gallantry, and conduct.

From Trenton, General Washington, seconded by the wishes of General Greene, and Colonel Knox, would have continued his march to some other post, but they were overruled by the council, who protested against any farther measures that should hazard what they now gained; and the design was abandoned. On the evening of the same day, he recrossed the Delaware, bearing with him his trophies, artillery, and prisoners; justly elated with anticipations of the effect, which such a spirited manœuvre, must produce on the aspect of publick affairs. But, whatever was its operation on the minds of the Americans, it fell upon the enemy like a sudden burst of thunder in a serene day; a blow so unexpected, conceived in a spirit so different from that which had hitherto directed the labours of Washington, and executed in such a workmanlike manner—it was absolutely unaccountable to the enemy. They attributed it to the neglect of Colonel Rahl in omitting to entrench himself; but Colonel Donop was equally guilty—his post was not entrenched. The truth is, they were surprised, defeated by the masterly, though almost desperate conduct of Washington; not by the blunders of Colonel Rahl. The errour of Lord Howe lay in advancing so small a body of foreigners, so near the main body of the Americans. As foreigners, they laboured under every disadvantage in their communication with the people, but had they been Britons, they were too weak for their extreme point of advance as a frontier post. The spell was now broken which made the Hessians so terrible, and the British testified much of that kind of involuntary

and reluctant admiration for their adversary, in their subsequent operations, which might have been expected, if Washington had silently surrounded their main body, and charged upon them in the dead of the night. They forgot their own force, and *his* weakness at the same moment. Terrour and dismay contributed to magnify the one in the same proportion as it diminished the other. The first shock was felt like electricity along their ranks, but at the second, which was given at Trenton, their extremities were suddenly contracted;—and their centre, for a moment, was affected like the human heart, when its pulsation is stopped.

At the very moment when this daring plan was executed, they had a strong battalion of infantry at Princeton, and a force distributed near the Delaware, much superiour to the whole American army. The knowledge of this, induced Washington to march off his prisoners to Philadelphia, on the evening after their capture. Having thus provided against the success of any attempt to retake them, he recrossed the Delaware again,and took possession of Trenton; while the scattered detachments of the British were instantly concentrated at Princeton, and were soon joined by the main body from Brunswick, formerly under Lord Cornwallis. From Princeton, nearly the whole body was put in motion against Trenton, with a view of retrieving the loss of reputation by the late disaster, and deciding at once and forever, the long litigated question.

The situation of Washington, at this moment, was extremely critical. When he took possession of Trenton on the 29th of December, his force was only eighteen hundred continental troops; of these, twelve

hundred were to be released on the first of January. Attempts had been made, but in vain, to detain them for a few weeks longer. A bounty of two dollars was offered for this period. It was accepted, but nearly one half abandoned the camp immediately after. At this time it was determined to advance the Pennsylvania militia to Washington's relief; but when they arrived, his total force of continentals and militia, did not exceed five thousand.

To retreat with this force, at the very moment when the hearts of all America were lifted to exultation, by an enterprise achieved with means so much less efficient—to abandon a post with five thousand men, and retreat, immediately after having advanced and beaten the enemy, with half that number, was but little else than quenching, at once, the light which had just been kindled. Yet, to risk an action with a force so superiour in front, and a river in the rear, was hazardous in the extreme. The first might have eclipsed the star of their hopes for a time, but the latter, if the issue should be calamitous, would be blotting it out from the heavens.

An opportunity soon presented itself for avoiding the one, and the other of these alternatives. There were links and joints in the armour of his adversary, and Washington had an eye to discover, and a hand to take advantage of them. Lord Cornwallis had once gone to New York with the intention of carrying to Great Britain the intelligence of their successes—the entire destruction of the American army, which certainly seemed unavoidable; and the consummation of American slavery; but the unexpected awakening of Washington at Trenton, so startled his Lordship, that he began to think such communications might be a little

premature; abandoned his design for a time; hurried back to the Jerseys; joined the main army just before its arrival at Trenton, and leaving the fourth brigade, consisting of the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, under Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, at Princeton, and the second brigade under General Leslie at Maidenhead, was now advancing against Washington.

For checking the advance of Cornwallis, and giving his own main body an opportunity for passing the enemy's advance, and gaining his rear, Washington advanced a considerable detachment, under General Greene, with four field pieces, to the support of a small body which had been previously stationed about a mile in front; but General Greene found them already on the retreat, which they continued with such precipitation, as to throw his reinforcement into confusion. The British pushed forward until they were checked at the bridge on Surpinck Creek, by four field pieces, when they soon fell back beyond their fire. The passage of this creek, was guarded by about forty pieces of artillery; but this was a very inconsiderable protection to a stream which was fordable in many places. The Americans were drawn up in order of battle upon the bank, and, in that situation, remained till night, cannonading the enemy, Lord Cornwallis displayed his columns and extended his lines to the heights at the westward of the town. Every thing was to be apprehended by Washington; his rear might be gained by a small circuit; and, from the superiority of the enemy and the nature of the ground, he could not but anticipate a disastrous issue. In this critical situation, two armies, upon which the destinies of a whole continent reposed,

were within one thousand yards of each other, crowded into a small village, and only separated by a fordable creek.

In the mean time, a council was called in the American camp. Their situation was deliberately considered. They were to retreat by the Jersey side and cross the Delaware at Philadelphia, or fight. Both were extremely hazardous; but there seemed no other alternative. At length General St. Clair proposed to turn the enemy's left flank. On consideration, it was adopted by the Commander in Chief, who before had inclined to give battle in front; he agreed that Lord Cornwallis must have advanced with his main body, in the hope of atoning for the defeat at Trenton, and, consequently, must have left a weaker rear at Princeton. How exactly this was the case, will be seen by the event. The proposition was agreed to. A fortunate, and somewhat remarkable change took place at the same time, that rendered the movement of their artillery and heavy baggage over roads, which for several days before, had been almost impassible, as expeditious and easy, as it would have been over a solid pavement. It had been warm and rainy, but the wind suddenly changed to the north west while the council was sitting, and, blew so coldly, that by the time the troops were put in motion, the roads were firm enough for the heaviest artillery. Washington ordered the fires to be doubled along the whole front of his army, and constantly supplied till day light. These fires necessarily concealed the operations in their rear, and the baggage, with three pieces of ordinance, was sent off to Burlington, to divert the attention of the enemy. About one, the troops were filed off in detachments, with the great-

est silence, the creek was crossed, and the whole army arrived at Princeton a little before day break. It happened that the three British regiments, was already on their march to Trenton, by another road, about a quarter of a mile distant. They were first discovered by Major, afterwards General Wilkinson, and General Mercer, with the Philadelphia militia was advanced against them. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded the first party, regarding the Americans as only a flying body, detached to harrass him on the march, neither halted nor formed, but advanced steaddy till his bayonets almost crossed, poured in a volley upon them, and then charged. The Americans gave way in all directions, many were armed only with rifles, and the officers were panick struck. It was a moment of extreme peril. Washington saw it —leaped his horse into the narrow space between the British and the Americans—reined his head towards the former, and in that situation, while waving his sword to his troops, received successively the fire of each, when not more than fifteen yards from either party. Not a ball struck him. This decided the battle. Sixty of the enemy were bayonetted on the spot. But the gallant Colonel, with a few followers, cut his way through the surrounding battalions, and pursued his route, though in great disorder, over fields and fences, towards Pennington. At the moment of attack, intelligence had been communicated to the rear, which was thus enabled to save itself. The fifty-fifth being hard pressed, and finding it could not advance, had retreated to Brunswick by the way of Hillsborough. The fortieth was but little engaged, and with a very inconsiderable loss, retired to the same place. During the action a party had escaped to the college, but they

soon abandoned it, and a part made prisoners. It was determined, so soon as this action was over, to advance upon Brunswick, where the baggage of the whole British army had been left, and where General Lee was known to be confined. Such objects were animating rewards for toil and peril; but there were limits to the daring of the greatest. The American troops were worn down with fatigue: they could scarcely drag their limbs after them. For eighteen hours they had been under arms, and for two days and nights, they had been almost constantly engaged in marching, manœuvering, and fighting without provisions, liquor, or rest. It was then proposed to file off to Cranberry, cross the Delaware and proceed to Philadelphia; but General St. Clair urged the expediency of a different route, which, as he was known to be familiar with the country, was immediately adopted. General Greene, led the main body pushed forward directly without any directions respecting the ground which General Knox had recommended; but he had scarcely taken up his march, when his rear was fired upon by a new enemy.

When the American cannon were first heard by the British in their encampment, so little suspicion had they of the truth, that they supposed it to be thunder; they were actually under arms at the moment and on the point of storming the American lines. But they were soon undeceived. Lord Cornwallis had learnt to respect the Generalship of his adversary, and alarmed for his baggage at Brunswick, put his army instantly in motion for its protection.

Some skirmishing took place with General Greene's rear and his advance: but nothing was effected. The Americans pursued their march unmolested, and de-

stroying all the bridges in their progress, arrived at Morristown on the sixth. Numbers of them had dropped down in their march; many others fell asleep in the woods; and the whole were so completely overcome when they arrived, that five hundred fresh troops might have cut them to pieces. Such, however, was the effect of this spirited affair, that the enemy continued his march without halting for a moment, till his arrival at Brunswick.

In this affair, General Howe admitted a loss of seventeen killed, and nearly two hundred wounded and missing; but the Americans reported nearly three hundred prisoners taken, including fourteen officers; upwards of sixty were bayonetted, and probably many others wounded. The American loss was very inconsiderable in number, not exceeding thirty in killed and wounded; but of the former, were some invaluable officers, Colonels Hazlett and Porter, Major Morris, Captains Sheppen and Neal; and among the latter was the intrepid high minded General Mercer. He had abandoned his horse in his impetuosity, and was leading his men to the charge, when by an unexpected movement, he found himself a prisoner; he surrendered, but was instantly bayonetted in thirteen places, and left for dead by the exasperated soldiery. Of these wounds he died on the twelfth.

An amiable and interesting young man, Captain Leslie, the son of a distinguished nobleman, was among the slain of the enemy. He was buried with military honours, and some of the men he had commanded, who were taken prisoners, actually sobbed aloud at his interment.

The gallantry of the enemy was a subject of admiration to the Americans, even in the heat of battle.

The cool, steady manner in which Colonel Mawhood brought up his men, without firing a shot, till their muzzles almost met, was so new to them, that an American officer was heard to exclaim—when will our men fight like those fellows!

Such was the astonishment of the British, at these unexpected and spirited manœuvres of their enemy—that enemy, whom they believed already upon his back—that they immediately assembled their whole force, commenced a retrogade movement; for it might be held uncourteous to call it a retreat—successively abandoning every foot of ground they had gained to the south of New York, except Brunswick and Amboy; while the American militia awakening and concentrating, by a new impulse, overran the whole country, fought and cut to pieces the small parties of the enemy wherever they could be found, and communicated a sudden vigour to the whole military and political constitution of America.

Thus within the period of thirty days, the whole of New Jersey which lies between New Brunswick and Delaware, was twice successively won and lost; won by a greatly superiour and triumphant army of veterans, and recovered by a dispirited and almost annihilated body of militia.

But in the mean time a mighty change was silently operating. It had hitherto been working in secrecy, at the fire sides, and within the hearts of the people—they had learnt a lesson of bitterness in their habitations, that was never to be forgotton. Submission had been made to the British in the confidence of protection. It had been made when the American army, famished, destitute, and flying before a powerful and splendid body of British troops, had been under the

necessity of impressing provisions and cattle for their very preservation. They who could not tolerate in their countrymen such proceedings, when occasioned by necessity, could not readily brook the wanton depredations, cruelties, and excesses of an enemy. The British commander, and the British troops were all loyal subjects, and the sufferings of rebels, the sincerity of whose submission, could only be a matter of opinion, could not have been expected to excite much commisseration. They had little sympathy with the plundered and insulted inhabitants; but their want of feeling was Christian charity and kindness, to the desperate licentiousness of their mercenaries. The Hessians had fought the Americans as savages, and like savages, they had conquered them, as they supposed; and they were not to be troubled with squeamish and casuistical distinctions between the spoils of those who had resisted, and the property of those who had not. Every thing upon which they could lay their hands was lawful plunder to them. To plain country farmers, and their families, unaccustomed to the rapacity and licentiousness of military guardians, and taught to confide in the royal troops as their protectors; in the royal commander, as the representive of majesty, even common and pardonable irregularities, would have been hard to endure. Insults and indignities are forgiven in enemies, sooner than in friends. But here, these insults and indignities were quickened to poignancy, by every species of robbery and violence. Horses and cattle were driven away without ceremony, or wantonly destroyed; dwellings pillaged, and their furniture carried off, or consumed; infants, children, old men and women stripped of their last clothing and blank-

ets—every species of mockery and outrage reiterated —and to complete the scene of humiliation and horrour, wives and daughters were ravished in the presence of their husbands and their fathers. This is not declamation—it is fact, plain, undeniable fact. A solemn inquiry was made, and oaths administered, when it was found that twenty-three females had been violated, in one neighbourhood. And these must have been far short of the truth—there is something in the nature of fathers, husbands, brothers and friends, as well as in the wretched victims to such violence—which urges them to concealment. What racks and agony might never extort, may have been discovered by strangers, and by such accidental instances, must the evidence of this number have been obtained.

The recruiting service, which, till the battle of Trenton, was at a stand, was so suddenly and generally accelerated by that event, that Washington began to look forward with cheerfulness to the opening of the next campaign. He threw his army at Morristown into tolerably comfortable quarters. The approach from the seaboard is rendered difficult and dangerous by a chain of sharp hills, extending from Chickamia by Bound Brook and Springfield to near the Passaic river; in a rich country, nearly equidistant from New York and Amboy, and from Newark and Brunswick, with defiles in its rear; and to provide against an enemy which had thinned his ranks with a more wasting energy than battle, had the whole of the men inoculated with the small pox. Very few died under it, and so little hindrance was the indisposition which ensued, that there was not a single day when they would not have turned out and

fought the British, if they had been attacked. At the same time, to provide for proper attendance to the troops, all the inhabitants and families of the neighbouring country were also inoculated. By this step the soldiers were enabled to take the field in the spring without any further apprehensions of their most formidable enemy.

Vigorous preparations were making in all quarters for an early campaign for 1777; and the attention of the Americans was wholly directed to the security of their present advantage. General Putnam with a few hundred troops was stationed at Princeton, within eighteen miles of the British army at Brunswick, and at one time, had not so many under his command, as he had miles of frontiers to protect. During this critical season, he resorted to a stratagem, so entirely characteristick of himself, that it ought not to be forgotten. One of his prisoners, a British officer, lay at the point of death; and expressed a strong anxiety to see some person from the British army, to whom he could entrust something for his wife and children. The humanity of Putnam led him to accede to the prayer; but to provide against a discovery of his weakness, he ordered candles to be placed in every room of the College, and the dwelling houses, and kept his handful of troops perpetually in motion. From these appearances the British officer was led to estimate and report Putnam's force at several thousands.

Nor was the situation of Washington much more enviable. His force, when compared with that of the British, was insignificant in reality; while not only to his own countrymen, but to the enemy, it was regarded as formidable. The latter, however, may

be regarded as the natural consequence of the former. The deception was profitable and important to Washington, though somewhat mortifying and injurious to his reputation, during subsequent events; and, therefore, he contributed to strengthen and extend it by every stratagem in his power. Military parade, cheerful countenances, and the best troops were constantly exhibited. The American posts were all difficult of access, and the utmost vigilance was on foot, to prevent the approach of the suspected. Among many other partial encounters that took place during this season of expectation, between the foraging and scouting parties of their respective armies, there were two, of which an account may not be uninteresting. On the 20th of January, General Dickinson, with four hundred Pennsylvania militia, and fifty Pennsylvania riflemen, passed Millstone river, near Somerset Court-House, and attacked a large foraging party of the British with such fury, that they abandoned their convoy, left nine of their number prisoners, and fled. Forty wagons and upwards of one hundred horses, with a considerable body were taken. About a month after this affair, Col. Nelson, of Brunswick, with one hundred and fifty militia captured, at Laurena neck, a major and fifty-nine privates of the refugees, who were in British pay.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776. A retrospect of the movements and conquests of the enemy has already been exhibited; but a few moments will not be lost in reflecting on the vicissitudes experienced towards its termination, by both parties. Sir William Howe, after hunting his enemy through the Jerseys, and almost reaching Philadelphia, was unexpectedly turned upon and driven back to his entrenchments;

and at the conclusion of the campaign instead of having the country, he seemed farther than ever from it; his army was diminishing day after day, in inconsiderable numbers, it is true, but with a certainty and frequency that must soon disable him, unless reinforced; while that of his enemy was hourly augmenting.

Examples of cruelty were frequent at first with both parties; but much more so with the British than the Americans. The latter were induced by every motive of policy to treat their captives with humanity; and nothing could have driven them to severity in any case, but the duty of self-preservation; and still more reluctant was their progress to cruelty; for in the earliest stage of the war, when it became necessary to march the prisoners from Philadelphia, to the interiour of the country, it was done with great tenderness, and their families were permitted to choose their own season for following them; and even after repeated evidences had been produced before Congress, of plots for escaping, it was with undissembled reluctance that farther measures of security were adopted. Much of this was surely policy; some part of it fear; but there was a part in all their transactions, which had kindness and humanity for its ingredients. Most of the prisoners were men who had hitherto been treated as fellow citizens under the same government, rather mistaken than guilty—and their confinement, at first, was rather nominal than effectual. And when prisoners were afterwards taken in battle, the same feelings were extended towards them. They were treated like men. Not so with the British. Examples of the most persevering cruelty were frequent. Insult, oppression, and bitterness were measured out

to all; but upon the officers a double portion was heaped, and this was doubly felt by them, from their better education, rank, and preceding habits of life. They were regarded and treated as rebels; and not a few suffered more in their imprisonment than would have been inflicted upon them by British law, had they been convicted of rebellion. They died many lingering deaths—of famine, wretchedness, filth, and disease; accompanied with every unmanly reproach, and humiliating indignity.

These barbarities had been begun by the personal exasperation of General Gage. He could never forget, as the Monarch of France did, the affronts that had been offered to the Duke of Orleans—that Governour Gage had been put to shame in the colony of Massachusetts. In this spirit believing that a speedy restoration of the British power was at hand, and, consequently, the speedy and exemplary punishment of the rebels; and dreading no retaliation, he had ventured to anticipate the rigours of justice. American officers of all ranks, soldiers, and distinguished citizens were thrown into the common jail and treated as state criminals. To this conduct, General Washington remonstrated with temper and dignity. Political opinion, he said, was to form no part of the present question; demanded the laws of war, and the usages of humanity to be observed; and hoped he should not be driven to retaliation. To this, General Gage replied in a haughty and intemperate manner; retorted the charge of cruelty, and said that clemency alone, and not justice, had hitherto protected the American prisoners from the halter. Such sentiments, thus avowed, by a military commander, high in the service of his country, at a time when all

the passions of human nature were in uproar, called for a determined and immoveable stand on the part of the Americans. Washington took that stand—he replied calmly, but firmly and unequivocally. That letter, he said, was to close their correspondence—perhaps forever; he assured General Gage, in a manner that could not be mistaken or doubted, that the measures of retaliation should be religiously administered on every man within his reach. Congress were immediately informed of the whole correspondence and they ordered the British officers at Watertown into close confinement. This soon brought General Gage to terms. But the question was soon agitated again. Colonel Ethan Allen, a remarkably daring and resolute man, belonging to that part of the country now known as Vermont, who, on his own responsibility, had assembled a small body of men and gone against Montreal, at the time of General Montgomery's attack on Quebec, had been taken prisoner; and, under pretence that he was acting without authority, was ironed and sent to England for trial as a traitor.

This produced another investigation in Congress, and it was determined that General Prescott, who had been instrumental in the ill treatment of Colonel Allen, and was then a prisoner, in the American camp, should be held as a hostage for the safety of Colonel Allen, and experience the most scrupulous retaliation. This resolution was communicated to General Howe who paid no attention to it. Some further inquiries were then made, and General Prescott, accordingly was thrown into jail. But again American humanity was triumphant. On a report that his health was much impaired, was suffering from the

dampness of his prison, he was removed to a comfortable lodging and strictly guarded. At length this system of cruelty and absurdity was abandoned by the British. Sir William Howe, soon after his arrival at New York, agreed to an exchange of prisoners; but cruelty and insult had not yet terminated.

Sir Guy Carleton was one among the few British officers who were busy in the American revolution, and showed any veneration for the history and character of Great Britain; almost the only man among them all, whose enmity did not survive the battle—he forgot that he was not an American, when Americans were defenceless and in his power. By him, the brave men he had conquered, were treated as fellow-soldiers, as human creatures; he pitied their delusion—but when they were fallen, the heart of a Britain rose to protect them. They were actually clothed, fed, and supplied with money to assist them in returning to their families. That was the hour of trial for their constancy. Who would be outdone in generosity?—Not an American. The memory of their enemy was hallowed in their recollection, and such were the feelings of those who had been clothed and fed by their generous conquerour, that they not only would have thrown themselves before his enemy to protect him; but they transcribed the remembrance and the gratitude of their hearts to their posterity. There are men in America at this hour, descended from the prisoners of Sir Guy Carleton, who would perish for the preservation of any of his descendants. In America gratitude like resentment, is hereditary. It is always easier to forget injuries than kindness; and that little difficulty is diminished when instances of the latter are so rare, as those of the Bri-

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